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Henry A. Wise: a Study in Virginia Leadership, 1850-1861

By Clement Eaton

Three pressing problems confronted the leaders of the commonwealth of Virginia in the last decade of the antebellum period. The task of unifying the state by a fair treatment of western Virginia remained as a challenge to far-sighted statesmanship.[1] Also Jefferson's vision of social reform, which would educate the masses, remove slavery, and make Virginia a land of beautiful, cultured homes was still in the blue-print stage. In national affairs a statesman was needed to lead the South in preserving the rights of an agrarian civilization within the federal union. The most promising leader in Virginia in 1850 was Henry A. Wise of Accomac County on the Eastern Shore. He tackled each of these problems with energy, but the inertia of tradition and the strength of vested interests were too powerful to overcome within a decade.

During the decade of the 1850's Virginia was slowly being oriented toward a closer economic union with the North. The complexion of her society was getting less "Southern" as the years went by, a fact indicated by the decline in the ratio of her slave population to her total population from 40 per cent in 1790 to approximately 30 per cent in 1860. The Virginia cities had developed a valuable industry in the manufacture of plug tobacco while industrialists were arising to expand the iron industry of the state, threatening to convert the Old Dominion into "the New England of the South."

As a result of the renaissance of agriculture, under the

[1] The bitter grievances of western Virginia flared up anew in 1861. See editorials of western Virginia newspapers in H. C. Perkins, *Northern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1942), II, 895-921.

leadership of Ruffin and Fielding Lewis, the state was turning away from the one-sided devotion to tobacco planting to a more balanced agricultural economy, more like that of the North, based on the growing of wheat and corn. One of the Shenandoah Valley farmers, Cyrus McCormick, had invented the greatest agricultural instrument that the North was to use, the reaper. The Tidewater was carrying on a lucrative fish and oyster trade with Northern cities, and truck farmers were sending fresh vegetables to metropolitan centers. More than a million acres of Virginia land, according to the *New York Tribune,* had been purchased and settled by Yankee farmers during the decade.[2] The more fanatical elements of Virginia population opposed this "Vandal Invasion of Virginia," this descent of fragrant hordes of conquistadores fresh from the onion patches of Connecticut and the codfisheries of Massachusetts to convert the sacred soil of Virginia into "a paradise of onions, squashes, stringbeans and 'liberty'."[3] But the more progressive citizens, including Governor Henry A. Wise, welcomed this accession of Yankee energy and thrift.[4]

Virginia politics in the decade 1850-1860 reflected this conflict of economic interests, centripetal forces pulling to the South, centrifugal forces pulling Northward. The two Senators during the whole of this decade were Senator James M. Mason, and Senator Robert M. T. Hunter, both disciples of Calhoun. Senator Mason read Calhoun's last address to the Senate during the great debate that preceded the Compromise of 1850, while the sick old Carolina leader sat in his chair with his leonine locks and defiant eyes. Mason also drew up the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.[5] Hunter, whose swarthy complexion flaunted his descent from Pocahontas, was even more devoted to Calhoun. In 1843 he assumed the paternity of the campaign biography

[2] *New York Tribune,* Feb. 7, 1861.

[3] Clement Eaton, 'The Resistance of the South to Northern Radicalism," *New England Quarterly,* VIII, 228 (June 1935).

[4] Wise to Albert G. Jenkins, August 24, 1857, in Letter Book of Governor Henry A. Wise, 1856-1860, pp. 101-102, MS (in Virginia State Library).

[5] For Mason's career, see Virginia Mason, *The Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason by his Daughter* (Roanoke, 1903).

of Calhoun which the latter wrote to advance his Presidential ambitions. Hunter was the leader of a group of politicians in Virginia, more radical than he was, called by Henry A. Wise "an exclusive clique of ultra Calhounites in Virginia and elsewhere in the South who have always run state rights and strict construction into the ground."[6] The master minds of these extremists, who called themselves the Party of Southern Rights, were the cultured and brilliant aristocrat, James A. Seddon, and Lewis E. Harvie, who preferred to avoid the responsibility of office, but to form stratagems and pull political wires to dominate the politics of the state.[7] The fire eaters of Virginia also included an able group of agitators and intellectuals such as Edmund Ruffin, the agricultural reformer; George Fitzhugh, author of *Sociology for the South;* Professor Beverly Tucker, for many years professor at William and Mary College; Professors George F. Holmes, A. T. Bledsoe and J. P. Holcombe of the faculty of the University of Virginia. A notable group of propagandists for the pro-Southern cause were Roger Pryor, John M. Daniel, Patrick Henry Aylett, and William Old, editors associated with the Richmond *South* and the Richmond *Examiner.*[8] These men believed that there was no safety for the South within the Union, while the antislavery agitation of the North continued to increase. They were devoted to Hunter, whom they intrigued to make the Democratic candidate for President in 1856 and again in 1860.

Contesting with Hunter for the leadership of the Democratic Party in Virginia during the decade of 1850-1860 was Henry A. Wise of Accomac County. He had begun his political career by opposing the nullification movement during his campaign for Congress in 1833.[9] In Congress for a period of ten years he had been the most violent op-

[6] Wise to James Buchanan, July 6, 1856. Buchanan MSS (in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library).

[7] The best portraits of these powerful local leaders are to be found in their own letters to Hunter in C. H. Ambler (ed), Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1916* (Washington, 1918), II, *passim.*

[8] See John S. Wise, "The Fire Eaters" in *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia, 1821-), CLXXVIII, June 23, 1906.

[9] For a good pro-Wise survey of his career, see Barton H. Wise, *The Life of Henry A. Wise, 1806-1876* (New York, 1899).

ponent of the abolitionists and had fought many an intellectual and oratorical duel with John Quincy Adams in resisting the reception of abolition petitions. His filial love of the South was expressed in a fervent prayer in 1836 when only ten Senators voted against receiving abolition petitions: "The South lies low and bleeding. Oh God! for energy for the occasion!"[10] He changed his allegiance from the Democratic Party and the support of Jackson to the Whig Party in 1834, as a result of the removal of the deposits from the Second National Bank. He became a bitter critic of President Jackson's administration, especially attacking the spoils system and the financial peculations of Jackson's henchmen. In Tyler's administration he was leader of "the corporal's guard" of Southern Whigs who stood by Tyler after the majority of the party abandoned him.[11] Tyler rewarded him by sending him in 1844 as Minister to Brazil, where he engaged in strenuous and undiplomatic efforts to suppress the illegal African slave trade in which American vessels participated. In 1850 he won the gratitude of western Virginia by his championship of the white basis of representation in the Virginia legislature.[12]

Among the leaders of his state he was the foremost exponent of forming an intersectional alliance between Virginia and Pennsylvania. He had valuable connections with this Northern state. Instead of matriculating at William and Mary College he had chosen to go to a little Pennsylvania college, Washington College. His marriage to Sarah Sergeant, a sister of John Sergeant, the distinguished Whig leader of Philadelphia, further strengthened his Pennsylvania connections. In Philadelphia also resided an influential political friend, Robert Tyler, son of the ex-President, who had become Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and Chairman of the

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[10] Wise to a person in Gloucester County, Virginia (name torn from the letter), March 12, 1836, Henry A. Wise MSS (in Library of Congress).

[11] See his own account, Henry A. Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union* (Philadelphia, 1881), and O. P. Chitwood, *John Tyler, Champion of the Old South* (New York, 1939).

[12] Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise, a Liberal of the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (Nov., 1941), 487-498.

Democratic Executive Committee of the state. The published letters of Tyler show that he was zealously engaged in advancing the Presidential ambitions of Wise in Pennsylvania.[13] Wise had other important Northern contacts in his friendships with Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, and Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York City; and his relation with Edward Everett, whose daughter had married a cousin of Wise, Lieutenant Henry A. Wise of the Navy, stationed in Boston.[14]

Calhoun had sought before his death in 1850 to establish an alliance between the South and the West, and thus win safety for his section within the Union. Henry A. Wise, on the other hand, was convinced that only by an alliance between the South and the Middle States could the South protect her interests. He hoped to place Virginia in a commanding position in the Democratic Party by a league with Pennsylvania. In February, 1851, he called a meeting of Democrats in Richmond to reorganize the Democratic Party on the basis of the preservation of the Union and also the rights of the states. He proposed a resolution inviting Pennsylvania to join with Virginia in this program. A shrewd political observer reported at this time that Wise "thinks the Whigs will beat us (in the Presidential election of 1852) unless we take the platform of the Union from them."[15] Wise concluded that James Buchanan would be the best person to cement the Virginia-Pennsylvania alliance and win the Democratic nomination for President.[16] He was responsible for winning the Virginia delegation in the national convention to Buchanan, and for thirty-five ballots the Virginia delegates voted for the Pennsylvania candidate. Wise abandoned Buchanan only when he saw that his cause was hopeless, and then he was

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[13] See Philip C. Auchampaugh, *Robert Tyler, Southern Rights Champion, 1847-1866 A Documentary Study Chiefly of Antebellum Politics* (Duluth, 1934), *passim.*

[14] The Caleb Cushing Papers in the Library of Congress contain many letters from Wise to Cushing, especially relating to patronage. A valuable collection of correspondence between Wise and Lieutenant Henry A. Wise in the Library of Congress show a cordial relation between Everett and the Virginia politician.

[15] Willis P. Bocock to R. M. T. Hunter, February 13, 1851. Ambler, "Correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter," p. 125.

[16] Wise to James Buchanan, April 3, 20, July 8, 1851; Jan. 25, July 28, 1852. In a dictatorial tone he wrote June 8, 1851, "You must not look beyond 1852—i.e., *you must be a candidate in the coming canvass.*" Buchanan MSS.

persuaded by Caleb Cushing to support the dark horse candidate, Franklin Pierce.[17] Accordingly, the Virginia delegation presented to the convention for the first time the name of the New Hampshire dough-face.

In 1855 Wise ran for governor of Virginia as the Democratic candidate against the Know Nothing candidate, Thomas Flournoy. He waged a remarkable campaign of oratory, in which he identified the Know Nothing Party with abolitionism, and won the election by a majority of nearly ten thousand votes.[18] His victory was due partly to the gratitude of the western part of the state for Wise's important service in the Constitutional Convention of 1850 of securing a fair appointment of representation in the legislature. Wise's campaign against the Know Nothings had a much greater significance than simply an episode in Virginia local politics. The gubernatorial election of 1855 in Virginia was the first trial of strength in the South of the Know Nothings after a victorious sweep in the North. The crushing defeat which they sustained in Virginia discouraged the party in the rest of the Southern states. Wise's methods of attacking the Know Nothings furnished the model for the strategy of victory in other Southern states against the invasion of this nativistic movement. Andrew Johnson studied Wise's campaign in Virginia for "pointers" as to the way to defeat Meredith P. Gentry, the Know Nothing candidate for governor, and he adopted the Wise tactics in his attack against the party.[19] In Georgia the frail statesman, Alexander Stephens, conducted a relentless campaign against the Know Nothings. Nowhere in the South, save in the border states of Maryland and Kentucky, did the Know Nothings attain successes.

So spectacular was Wise's victory over the Know Nothings, that he entered the limelight as a candidate for the Presidency in 1856. He probably could have secured the

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[17] Roy F. Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* (New York, 1923), 68, 74; Claude M. Fuess, *The Life of Caleb Cushing* (New York, 1923), II, 121-122.

[18] James P. Hambleton, *A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise with a History of the Political Campaign in Virginia in 1855* (Richmond, 1856), *passim*, and John S. Wise, *The End of an Era* (Boston, 1902), Chap. V.

[19] John S. Wise, *Recollections of Thirteen Presidents* (New York, 1906), p. 110; Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1928), p. 71.

support of the Virginia delegation for the Democratic nomination in 1856 if he had seen a possibility of success. In letters to Robert Tyler, however, he expressed profound skepticism of a slave-holding Democrat winning the nomination. "I have never had more than a mere hope of carrying Pennsylvania. There is too much Free-soilism in her to expect a union with the South except upon a candidate of her own. That was the main cause of my supporting Mr. Buchanan so heartily—it was to bind Pennsylvania to Virginia."[20] He might also have added that Pennsylvania's staunch devotion to a high protective tariff was incompatible with a cordial cooperation with Virginia planters. Nevertheless, Wise hoped that Buchanan would be unable to win the nomination in the Democratic Convention, and then his great opportunity would come to gain the Buchanan strength in Pennsylvania and elsewhere that would lead to his own nomination. His stratagem was outlined as follows: "My friends will be instructed to go first at Cincinnati *bona fide* for Buchanan, and then for Hunter or myself, whichever fairly this State prefers. His friends will go first for Pierce with some instructions; but our vote will be *a unit* for Buchanan *first,* as I say. Give this out to our simonpures alone."[21]

The Virginia-Pennsylvania alliance continued to dazzle Wise's mind and to arouse his ambition. In this project, he was encouraged by Buchanan who sought to attach the Virginia politician to his political chariot by lavish flattery. In April, 1852, Buchanan had praised him for his political tact displayed in the Virginia Democratic Convention, and expressed a desire to become a disciple of Wise in moral philosophy.[22] Just before the wily old office-seeker left for England to take up his duties as ambassador, he invited Wise to come to "Wheatland," near Lancaster, to discuss politics. "I think I can see and hear you," he wrote, "with a quid of Old Virginia in your mouth [Wise was an invet-

[20] Wise to Robert Tyler, October 12, 1855. Auchampaugh, *Robert Tyler,* p. 66. In this same letter, Wise wrote concerning Buchanan, "He could insure my nomination (for President), if he would."

[21] Wise to Robert Tyler, February 18, 1856. Lyon G. Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers* (Richmond, 1885), II, 525.

[22] Buchanan to Wise, April 13, 1852. Auchampaugh, *Robert Tyler,* pp. 36-37.

erate tobacco chewer] and a glass of genuine Madeira before you discoursing ex cathedra in your own interesting and impressive style."[23] He promised that he would invite the leading Democratic politicians within a hundred miles to meet the influential Virginia leader. When Buchanan returned from England and was again a candidate for President, he wrote to a mutual friend, "Wise is a glorious fellow."[24] Buchanan was well rewarded for his diplomacy, for Wise was "the Warwick of the hour," who made possible his nomination for President by the Democratic Convention.[25]

Wise strenuously campaigned for Buchanan in the election of 1856. He did his best to force Buchanan explicitly to renounce squatter sovereignty by writing a letter to Wise stating his position on this explosive subject. He warned him: "But you will lose even this state if you are suspected even of Squatter Sov: try sentiments."[26] But Buchanan was too shrewd a politician to commit himself on this dangerous subject. Wise's main strategy was to threaten the North with secession, if Fremont won the election, in other words bully Northern voters into supporting Buchanan as a means of saving the Union. In violent speeches he declared that the election of Fremont would be the cause of war between the North and South.[27] But there is evidence to indicate that Wise was sincere in believing that Fremont's election would mean the knell of the Union. His Raleigh Conference of Southern Governors, called in October, 1856, was designed to influence the Pennsylvania elections and also to serve as a solemn warning to the North of the danger that would result from a Republican victory.[28]

In the office of governor, Wise demonstrated liberal and progressive tendencies. In fact, he was ahead of his age in

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[23] Buchanan to Wise, June 1, 1853. *Ibid.*

[24] Buchanan to Robert Tyler, May 7, 1856, Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II, 525.

[25] Robert Tyler to John Tyler, June 13, 1856. *Ibid.*, p. 527; also Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 467-468.

[26] Wise to James Buchanan, June 26, 1856. Buchanan MSS.

[27] Allan Nevins, *Fremont, the West's Greatest Adventurer* (New York, 1928), II, 508-509.

[28] See Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Fire Eaters of 1856," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (1934-35), 495-512.

seeing the glimmer of a modern concept of government, that the state is not merely negative in function, existing only to preserve order and property rights, but that the government should be used as an instrument of social reform and amelioration. He was unquestionably the greatest advocate of free public schools that Virginia politics had produced since the time of Jefferson. He realized that one of the great tasks of statesmanship in Virginia was to unite the hostile eastern and western sections of the state into a firm union of friendship and cooperation. He tried to do this by granting justice to the west in a fair appointment of representation in the legislature and by advocating internal improvements connecting the trans-Alleghany portion of the state with the Tidewater. He proposed that the state should establish an insurance business that would not only furnish protection against the loss of houses by fire but would protect the farmer against the loss of his crops by the vicissitudes of nature.[29] He favored a plan, similar to the noble dream of Jefferson, of educating the aristocracy of natural talent by giving poor boys an opportunity of obtaining a collegiate education at state expense.[30] He also advocated the adoption of a realistic system of taxation to be used for the public welfare.[31]

But he was diverted from being a truly progressive governor by his absorption in federal politics. From 1856 to 1860 the main theme of Virginia politics was a personal rivalry between Hunter and Wise, each ambitious to secure the Democratic nomination for President. Robert Toombs wrote scornfully of Wise's aspiration to wear the purple, "Besides, he is crazy for the Presidency and that disease unsettles the best of intellects."[32] By this contest he was led into a more radical course as a pro-Southern advocate. It was imperative that he should detach the strong Southern Rights Group in eastern Virginia who followed

[29] Barton H. Wise, *Life of Henry A. Wise*, p. 224.
[30] Wise to the Reverend W. A. Smith, December 9, 1856, in Letter Book of Governor Henry A. Wise, pp. 1-10.
[31] Message of Governor Wise to the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Virginia, February 11, 1856, pp. 2-3. MS in Executive Papers of Virginia.
[32] Robert Toombs to W. W. Burwell, November 20, 1857, Phillips, "Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb," p. 426.

the lead of Senator Hunter and win them to his camp. During most of the decade he was disliked and distrusted by the fire eaters who believed that he was too much of a trading politician to take a disinterested stand for Southern Rights.[33] Partly to gain their support and the support of the lower South, he published a pamphlet addressed to William F. Samford, editor of the Auburn, Alabama, *Signal,* taking the most extreme position on slavery extension. He asserted without reservation the Calhoun and Davis doctrine that Congress should pass legislation protecting slavery in the territories equally with other forms of property.[34]

In the struggle for power, Wise eventually lost to his rival, Hunter. A factor explaining this downfall was his opposition to Buchanan's Kansas policy. Shortly after Buchanan's inauguration Wise had grown cool toward Buchanan, because the latter did not allow Wise to dictate Presidential policies and he appointed the wrong men in his cabinet.[35] Wise could have had a cabinet portfolio, if he had wished, but he feared that an acceptance would injure his Presidential prospects.[36] He also opposed Buchanan's effort to force the Lecompton Constitution on Kansas because it offended his genuine democratic instincts.[37] This courageous act of opposition to Buchanan caused him to lose influence among the Democrats who placed party loyalty above principle. Another cause for the decline of his influence was a bitter feud that developed between him and "Honest John" Letcher, the western leader. He tried unsuccessfully to prevent Letcher from securing the Demo-

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[33] William Old, Jr., wrote to Hunter December 16, 1859, "I do not think Wise will maintain his present position, he will certainly be looking Northward and eulogising the Union in a month or two." "Correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter," p. 279.

[34] Henry A. Wise, *Territorial Government and the Admission of New States into the Union* (Richmond, 1859).

[35] Wise to Robert Tyler, January 9, 1857, in Tyler Papers, III, MSS (in Library of Congress), not printed in Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers'*. Wise (to Buchanan) November 24, 1856, opposed construction of a Pacific Railroad, "For God's sake don't give us any land jobbers & Yazoo speculators." In another letter, November 30, 1856, he frankly declared that Buchanan owed his nomination and election to him, but that if he appointed "the Yazoo clique," Cobb, Bright, Forney, Corcoran, and R. I. Walker, he would not be responsible for his administration—"they are out for plunder." Buchanan MSS.

[36] Wise to Lieutenant Henry A. Wise, November 27, 1856, Wise MSS.

[37] Wise to David Hubbard, March 3, 1859 in Wise MSS (Duke University Library); Wise to a Committee of Democrats of Philadelphia, February 6, 1858 in Wise MSS (Library of Congress).

cratic nomination for governor in 1859, and to nominate Judge John W. Brockenbrough, an ardent pro-Southern candidate from eastern Virginia.[38] Wise further antagonized the West by the extreme pro-slavery policy of the Richmond *Enquirer,* whose editorial policy was controlled by him. His exceedingly filial son, Jennings Wise, was one of the editors. During the gubernatorial campaign of 1859, Jennings Wise challenged Sherrard Clemens, Congressman from the Wheeling district, to a duel, in which Clemens was seriously wounded. Clemens was very popular in northwest Virginia and this incident damaged Wise's influence in that region.[39]

Wise regained some popularity by his melodramatic handling of the John Brown Raid. Edmund Ruffin, who was bitterly prejudiced against him, wrote: "Before the Harper's Ferry affair, he had but little support in Va. (& none elsewhere) for the presidency which he was seeking so boldly and so shamelessly. But his conduct in and since that affair, though very blameable for indiscretion & [for a] foolish and useless & very expensive military parade, has given him more popularity than all he ever had acquired for his real worth and ability . . . He seems likely now to be the candidate preferred by Va., & if the same madness rules elsewhere, a chance of being nominated by the Democrats."[40] When the panic subsided, however, sentiment in Virginia once more favored Hunter, who had come to be regarded as less radical than Wise. At the Charleston Convention in the spring of 1860 the Virginia delegates cast forty-five ballots for Hunter as the Presidential nominee.

During the Presidential campaign of 1860 Wise supported Breckinridge and Lane, for he believed that they alone among the candidates fully accepted his position on slavery. As he contemplated the possibility of Lincoln's election, he was stirred by one of his bellicose moods. He would not submit to the triumph of a Black Republican

[38] C. H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), pp. 319-20.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22.
[40] Edmund Ruffin, *Diary*, February 6, 1860, III, 64-65 MS (in Library of Congress).

over the South, he declared. Rather, he should wait in torturing suspense for Virginia to take a bold stand of resistance as in 1798. Instead of resorting to secession, however, he recommended *resistance within the Union* as the mode of redress, if necessary, a revolutionary conflict for liberty. Thus the South would not have to surrender her rights in the common possessions of the Union. But if Virginia refused to meet the impending crisis with defiance , he would appeal to some more militant state in the South for permission to fight against Northern Tyranny. He advised that no Southern state should wait for the cooperation of other states to begin resistance, for such waiting would only produce faltering and confusion.[41] At the same time he wrote to his Northern friend, Caleb Cushing: "I will not submit to Lincoln's election, if I can get a single State to throw over me her egis [sic.] It is war—I fight."[42] The example of the Revolutionary patriots of 1776 pointed out the method of resisting an oppressive North. At a barbecue in Princess Anne County, he boldly advocated the organizing of committees of safety and companies of minute men. The election of Lincoln, he declared should be the signal for a convention of delegates to meet at Richmond to determine upon measures for protecting the honor and safety of Virginia and for saving her rights within the Union.[43]

Virginia was unwilling at this time, however, to listen to any extreme counsels that might disrupt the Union. When South Carolina invited Virginia to attend the proposed Atlanta Convention of Southern States early in 1860 and dispatched Christopher G. Memminger as her envoy for that purpose, the legislature refused by a two-thirds vote to participate in a convention that might lead to secession.[44] Memminger described the divided mind of the powerful state that had formerly led the South: "Governor Wise seems to me to be really with us as well as Mr. Hunt-

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[41] *The Southern Argus*, October 16, 1860.
[42] Wise to Caleb Cushing, October 13, 1860, in Caleb Cushing MSS (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).
[43] *The Southern Argus*, October 26, 1860.
[44] D. L. Dumond (ed.) *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), pp. 16-20, 55-57.

er's portion, but he seems to think it necessary to throw tubs to the Union whales. The effect here of Federal politics is most unfortunate. It makes this great state comparatively powerless . . . I see no men . . . who would take the position of leaders in a Revolution."[45]

In the election of February 4, Wise was chosen a delegate to the Convention from Princess Anne County, after a close contest with Edgar Burroughs, an uncompromising Union man.[46] When he arrived in Richmond, he was serenaded by a crowd of Southerners to whom oratory was a luxurious and exciting entertainment. He responded with a tirade breathing defiance to the North, yet proposing that Virginia should stand as a mediator between the North and South.[47] He advocated a policy of armed neutrality, a militant attitude quite different from the passive neutrality which Kentucky later tried to maintain. The Union, he held, was not an abstraction, but it possessed lands, forts, a treasury, a Capitol, a flag. Why should the South abandon these when she had faithfully observed the compact of the Constitution while the Black Republicans had violated it. Virginia should therefore remain in the Union, and fight against any invasion from the North or any attempt to coerce the lower South.[48]

Wise was placed on the important Committee on Federal Relations, consisting of twenty-one members. On March 9 the Committee made its report. The majority report recommended the calling of a border state convention and the amendment of the Federal Constitution to protect the Southern States.[49] A minority report advocated immediately passing an ordinance of secession. Wise presented a separate report specifying a long list of guarantees which must be granted if Virginia remained in the Union. He had thought up every possible attack that could be made on

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[45] Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (Richmond, 1934), p. 98.
[46] John S. Wise, *The End of an Era*, p. 158.
[47] *New York Times*, February 15, 1861.
[48] Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*, pp. 252-270.
[49] "Partial Report from the Committee on Federal Relations, presented March 9, 1861," *Journal of the Acts and Proceedings of a Convention of the State of Virginia* (Richmond, 1861).

African slavery in the United States and had devised a safeguard. Incendiary associations and publications in the North must be suppressed, the Fugitive Slave Act must be strictly enforced, and slave owners must be granted equality in settling the common territories of the United States. The Northern States were to be given until October 1, 1861, to reply to this ultimatum. If unfavorable replies should be received, the people of Virginia then should vote whether they would secede and unite with the slaveholding states and right-minded free states to form a new Union. While Virginia should be seeking an adjustment with the Northern States, the Federal government must withdraw from all forts in the seceded states and abstain from exercising jurisdiction over them. Virginia should resist with all her force any attempt to coerce them. The Federal government, having thus rendered itself impotent in the Southern States, must look on while Virginia began immediately to place herself in a complete state of military organization for defense.[50]

Wise's ultimatum to the North was so severe and impossible of acceptance that it might be compared to the ultimatum which Austria presented Serbia in 1914. *The New York Tribune* declared that these arrogant terms assumed that the North was on its knees before Virginia.[51] Yet Wise had no Machiavellian purpose in presenting an impossible ultimatum to the North. He was actuated by the spirit of Calhoun who had urged the South to defend its rights at the frontier. He declared in a speech not long after he had presented his plan of conciliation: "Answer aggression with terms of submission cloaked under proposals for compromise—and you may be sure that the aggressors will spurn even your terms of submission and will push you to the wall. Make your demand high enough. Plant your foot firmly, not only on your rights, but when once assailed, step over the half-way mark. You will find many friends to check you and go to pull you back and say

[50] "Substitute for the Report on the Committee on Federal Relations Presented by Mr. Wise, March 9, 1861," in *Journal of the General Convention*, pp. 1-11.
[51] *New York Tribune*, March 14, 1861.

you are extravagant, and then you may step back a little and bring your adversary to some point of honorable agreement."[52] Nevertheless, as late as April 13, he was willing to accept the Crittenden proposal of restoring the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes in the territories.[53]

Wise was exasperated by the tame spirit of the Convention. He sternly rebuked its members for being spectators of a contest that vitally affected the honor of Virginia, "of wiping their eyes only to shed tears anew."[54] It was at this point that he wrote a revolutionary letter to Andrew Hunter, the prosecuting attorney in the John Brown trial. "If the people were ready," he declared, "I am ready to-day to go out of this house of bondage with the North, whose freedom is tyranny. But it is folly to tender naked secession to Va. and risk final defeat forever. We must train the popular head and heart. To do that I started the call of a Select Convention with the sole end of thorough organization of a Resistence party for the Spring elections. Once organized we will be ready to concert action for any emergency, mild, middle, or extreme. We may be driven to extremity; I don't mean to submit—never."[55] He was resolved to throw some "speech grenades" at the pusillanimous majority of the Convention.

The news that Fort Sumter had been fired upon on April 12th was received in Richmond with great rejoicing, bonfires, serenades, and music.[56] When Lincoln, shortly thereafter, called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to coerce the lower South, all hopes for compromise were destroyed. At last the event had occurred that enabled the secessionists to triumph over the majority of moderate men in the Convention.[57] Already Wise had signed an address summoning the supporters of secession to meet in Richmond on April 16 to put pressure on the wavering Convention.

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[52] Richmond *Daily Enquirer*, March 27, 1861.

[53] "Substitute for the Report of the Committee, on Federal Relations, Presented by Mr. Wise, April 13, 1861," *Journal of the General Convention*, Par. No. 1, 11-12.

[54] Richmond, *Daily Examiner*, April 6, 1861.

[55] Henry A. Wise to Andrew Hunter, Richmond, April 2, 1861, *Massachusetts Historical Society Publications*, (January, 1913), p. 248.

[56] See description by Robert Y. Conrad in C. H. Ambler, *A History of West Virginia* (New York, 1933), pp. 307-308.

[57] B. B. Munford, *Virginia's Attitude to Slavery and Secession* (New York, 1909). Chapters 38-42.

This assembly, called the Spontaneous People's Convention, met in Metropolitan Hall behind closed doors, and was addressed by fiery speakers.[58] In the Capitol building the regular Convention had gone into secret session on the same day (April 16).

In the meanwhile Wise, impatient with the timorous and irresolute Convention, decided to force it into immediate action by a bold deed. A meeting of violent secessionists was called by Wise at the Exchange Hotel, and he told them of his plans to seize the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. When Governor Letcher refused their request for authorization, Wise assumed the responsibility himself, made the plans, wrote out the orders, and selected Captain J. D. Imboden to execute them. At the same time he sent a telegram advising the capture of the Federal powder magazine and the government vessels at Norfolk.[59]

After this *coup d'estait*, he hastened to the Convention and announced the capture of Harper's Ferry. Wise was the Danton of the secession movement in Virginia. Waitman Willey has described how he stampeded the Convention into passing the secession ordinance: "On the morning of the 17th, Mr. Wise, the member from Princess Anne, rose in his seat and drawing a large Virginia horse-pistol from his bosom laid it before him, and proceeded to harangue the body in the most violent and denunciatory manner. He concluded by taking his watch out from his pocket and with glaring eyes and bated breath, declared that events were now transpiring which caused a hush to come over his soul. At such hour, he said, Harper's Ferry and its armory were in the possession of the Virginia soldiers."[60] Under the stress of such emotion the secession ordinance was passed by a vote of 88 to 55. The delegates from the Shenandoah Valley, the counties bordering on the Potomac, and from northwest Virginia voted against

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[58] For a good discussion of this assembly, see Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia*, pp. 202-203.

[59] Barton H. Wise, *The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia*, pp. 274-280.

[60] Granville D. Hall, *The Rending of Virginia* (Chicago, 1902), p. 183. The Convention was already ripe for secession when Wise made his melodramatic speech, and therefore too much importance should not be attributed to this incident.

the ordinance.[61] On May 23 the secession ordinance was submitted to a popular referendum, but it was ratified only by the Virginians east of the Blue Ridge.

The secession crisis revealed the dichotomy of the state, caused not only by geographic factors, but also by the failure of statesmanship to redress old grievances of the western portion of the state. The delegates from beyond the Blue Ridge fought bitterly against the eastern leaders in the movement to destroy the Union. In order to divert attention from the issue of secession, they proposed an amendment to the state constitution equalizing taxation. Under the old constitution slave children less than twelve years of age were not taxed at all, and slaves above twelve were assessed only three hundred dollars each. Waitman Willey, a prominent western leader, made the charge that Virginia lost $686,218 annually by this partiality to slave owners.[62] As the secessionists grew stronger, the western delegates began to utter ominous threats of forming a new state beyond the mountains. When they were about to leave the Convention Wise arraigned George Summers, one of their leaders, with all the intense bitterness for which he was noted. "The speaker was supernaturally excited," observed Judge Critcher. "His features were as sharp and rigid as bronze. His hair stood off from his head, as if charged with electricity. Summers sat on the left of the chair, white and pale as the wall near him. It was the most powerful display of the sort I have ever witnessed."[63]

Responsive to the logic of Virginia's position as a border state, Wise had sought to preserve Southern rights within the Union. In the first half of the decade, he had striven to form an intersectional alliance with the Middle States, especially Pennsylvania. From 1856 to 1861, however, he was driven to a more violent sectional course by events., such as the John Brown Raid, and by a desire to win the support of the radical wing of the Democratic Party. He had always been a bitter enemy of the abolitionists and a

[61] See map in Shanks, *Secession Movement in Virginia*, p. 206.
[62] *New York Tribune*, March 22, 1861.
[63] Barton H. Wise, *The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia*, 128.

vehement agitator of the slavery question.[64] But, unlike the true fire eaters, he did not seek to break up the Union.[65] During the secession crisis, he was the most forceful leader of the state, whose mercurial emotions registered the dilemma of the border states. He was torn by two conflicting emotions, a real love for the Union, and a defiance of Black Republicans who were seeking to destroy slavery. Accordingly, he at first recommended trying to secure guarantees from the North as a price of loyalty to the Union. When his proposal of an ultimatum to the North was rejected, he became an active precipitator of the revolutionary movement. In the final act of the secession drama, Henry A. Wise was the embodiment of the hysteria that swept the Virginia Convention.

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[64] Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, N. C., 1940), 161.
[65] See Henry A. Wise, *A Reply to the Editor of the Richmond Enquirer* (1857), pp. 3-4 (a pamphlet in the Duke University Library). Wise repelled the charge that he was a fire eater.

Patrick Gass and His Journal of the Lewis & Clark Expedition

By Newman F. McGirr

A memorial sent to the United States Congress December 23, 1851, and signed by ten citizens of Wellsburgh, Brooke County in [West] Virginia, accompanied by petition of their neighbor Patrick Gass who was applying for a special grant of land—or the cash equivalent. This was asked for in recognition of his services in the epoch making expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark in their exploration of the unknown northwest country acquired with the Louisiana Purchase—from St. Louis on the Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia River.

At the time of the petition Gass was said to be the only living member of that company of explorers. Having little more than a pension of eight dollars a month, he found it difficult to support his large family of young children, and particularly was he concerned as to their education, there being, he said, no free schools in Virginia. The latter statement may have been correct as to his vicinity, but as a matter of fact free schools had been set up in various parts of Virginia since early in the seventeenth century; the general free school system, however, had not yet been established.

Gass had previously received 320 acres (valued at $640), as had other members of the Lewis and Clark party after their return, and 160 acres (valued at $200) as a soldier of the War of 1812. No doubt he sold both these grants for he appears to have lived near Wellsburgh continuously after the Peace of 1815. Congress approved the 1851 petition August 4, 1854,[1] and he again received 320 acres "to

[1] U. S. Stat. L., 10: 820.

be located on any public lands of the United States subject to private entry," the estimated value of which was $400. In the Register's Office at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, this "special" military land warrant was recorded November 30, 1854, with its transfer to one John Tweed of Brooke County, Virginia, "for value received," and the document was attested by W. W. White, attorney, who was also of Wellsburgh.

In the year 1799, when twenty-eight years of age, Patrick Gass enlisted in the Regular Army at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, joining the 10th Pennsylvania Regiment under Colonel Thomas L. Moore. At the expiration of his term of service he was honorably discharged. He re-enlisted under Major Cass, the father of General Lewis Cass, and was stationed for a time at Harper's Ferry and later at Pittsburgh. From thence he was sent to Kaskaskia in Illinois Territory, where General Wilkinson commanded. It was while there that he volunteered for the Rocky Mountain Expedition in which he became a sergeant and officially kept a diary or journal of their travels from 1804 to 1806.

In 1812 he enlisted again in the Regular Army and served as a private throughout the war, receiving many "flesh wounds, but never a week on the sick list save once" when he suffered the loss of an eye.

He was five feet seven inches in height, had dark hair and gray eyes. The loss of one eye—an honorable war scar—may not have been too disfiguring, and he seems to have been a personable and likable fellow, but he did not marry until 1831 when he was sixty. Apparently he was cautious of the fair sex in his younger days. Sixteen years later his wife died leaving him with half a dozen young "legitimate" children, so that the time of the petition he had the "sole care and education of a large and infant family". The sum of the appraised value of the land grants and pension money received by him up to this time was the equivalent of $4984, but there was naught to show

for it except the acknowledged children.[2] He did not die until April 30, 1870, aged ninety-nine, so he received a considerable sum additional in pension payments, small though the annual amount was.

The Gass family, of Scotch-Irish stock, early settled in what is now Perry County, Pennsylvania, where Patrick was born June 12, 1771. On reaching manhood he served 2 years and 3 months apprenticeship in the trade of carpenter, from 1794, at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. He worked on the erection of a house for James Buchanan, Sr., father of President Buchanan then "little Jimmie," for whom he proudly voted in later years. The Buchanans and the Gass family, it is said, were connected by marriage.[3]

At the Battle of Lundy's Lane, within sound of the roar of Niagara, "Sergeant" Gass was among the picked men entrusted with the dangerous duty of spiking the enemy cannon after their capture on the possibility of our not being able to hold the position. It was here he heard Colonel Miller's memorable words: "I will try, sir," when ordered by General Ripley to make the perilous charge.[4]

In Jacob's biography of Patrick Gass he is described as the type of self-reliant and adventurous American citizen and soldier who carried the eagles of the Republic through three wars, but that in old age he regretted his lack of education and that Gass himself said had it been otherwise, with his opportunity and energy, a place among the eminent of the nation might well have been obtained. He said he had only nineteen days of schooling, but somehow he managed to learn to read and write as is evidenced by his having made daily notes of the Lewis and Clark travels, and his autograph signatures, at least, are extant though they indicate his writing to have been rather crude. However, the frequent references to Sergeant Gass in the journals of his leaders are undoubted evidences of his capability and

[2] Most of the data in the preceding text are from records of the U. S. Department of the Interior and the Veterans' Administration now in The National Archives.
[3] J. G. Jacob, *The Life and Times of Patrick Gass*, Wellsburgh, Va., 1859. v. p.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

worth. Seven years before the official history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was published at Philadelphia in 1814 the *Journal* of Patrick Gass was issued:

A Journal of the Voyages and travels of a Corps of Discovery Under the Command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clark of the Army of the United States . . . By Patrick Gass. Pittsburgh, printed by Zadock Cramer for David M'Keehan, Publisher and Proprietor, 1807. p. i-viii, 9-262, 12mo.

Quoting Elliott Coues as regards this publication, it is "perfectly authentic in the sense that it is exactly what it purports to be—a narrative of the Expedition, by a known person who accompanied Lewis and Clark; though it is not, nor does it pretend to be, the journal of his leaders. Patrick Gass was an intelligent and observant person of very limited education, who kept a diary of his own, in which events of the journey and their impressions upon the writer were recorded from day to day . . . It serves as a valuable check upon the narrative of Lewis and Clark itself, in the minutiae of dates, names, places, etc., and on this account may not inaptly be termed the Concordance."[5]

M'Keehan, the Irish schoolmaster to whom Gass entrusted the task of putting his book through the press, states in the preface that neither he nor the author had attempted to elaborate the scenes mentioned; the material was presented just as noted by Gass. The latter received one hundred copies as his share and M'Keehan sold the balance at some profit.[6] Without permission or recompense editions were published almost immediately: at London (a faithful reprint), a French translation at Paris, and Mathew Carey printed an edition, Philadelphia 1810, with six full page illustrations—the second American edition. The Carey text was almost a facsimile reprint of the original edition. Other editions followed.

Through the efforts of Thomas Jefferson the most of the manuscript material of Lewis and Clark was deposited in

[5] Lewis, Meriwether, and William Clark, *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri River, thence across the Rocky Mountains and Down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean, Performed During the Years 1804-5-6, by Order of the Government of the United States* . . . (Ed.) by Elliott Coues. New York, Harper, 1893. 4 vols. Sometimes described as a paraphrase of the Lewis and Clark journals. I. cxvii.

[6] *Ibid.*, I. cxviii.

the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia where it still reposes, but the invaluable exact reprint, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, was published for the first time in 1904,[7] the centennial anniversary of the start of the expedition. These codices include the journal of Sergeant Ordway, one of the party, but not that of Sergeant Gass, and if any manuscript of the latter exists, it is not known to the present writer. It might be noted that Philadelphia is mentioned by Thwaites as the place of publication of Gass' *Journal* in 1807 (see Vol. 1, p. xxxvi). The same statement is in Dr. Thwaites' article, "The Story of Lewis and Clark's Journals," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1903 Vol. 1, p. 109, though his footnote gives the correct imprint: Pittsburgh, David M'Keehan, 1807. The error has been repeated by another author in a book on the Pacific Northwest published in 1931, and possibly others have helped to perpetuate it. Gratifying as it would be to have Philadelphia, my home town, add this to its many historic honors, no one, of course, intentionally would take its due from Pittsburgh for having produced the first detailed account of the entire journey of Captains Lewis and Clark. In the above mentioned article Dr. Thwaites implies that the 1807 edition had "curiously crude illustrations," but it had none.

After the death of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark asked Nicholas Biddle, a scholarly young lawyer of Philadelphia, to write the narrative of their expedition, and he, having literary ability, creditably compiled the work from their journals, memoranda and "the oral relation of Clark".[8] But it was seven years after Gass's book that this official edition appeared:

History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Source of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, Prepared for the

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[7] Lewis, M., and W. Clark. *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806; Printed from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of the American Philosophical Society by Direction of Its Committee on Historical Documents . . . now for the First Time Published in Full and Exactly as Written.* Ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites. New York, 1904. 8 vols.

[8] Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased,* Philadelphia, 1859, p. 57.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.

Three Centimeters

Wellsburgh, Brooke County, Va. March 26th 1839

Sir

Your obliging letter of the 5th inst. was duly received, and for which, please accept my grateful acknowledgements.

Inclosed, agreeably to your instructions, is the certificate of two Physicians & Surgeons of respectability, and regularly certified.

I have the honor to be

Your Most Obt. Servt.

Patk Goss

James L. Edwards Esquire
Pension Office.

Press by Paul Allen, Esquire. Philadelphia, Bradford and Inskeep, 1814. 2 vols., octavo, 3 maps.

Sabin says (Vol. 10, p. 311-12), "Mr. Allen has paraded his name as the editor of this edition, when in fact, the work was done by Mr. Nicholas Biddle from the material left by Captain Lewis who in a fit of insanity committed suicide. See *North American Review,* 1:96." So, Philadelphia may take pride in this classic of early exploration, said to be the most important in the history of our country, also in Nicholas Biddle a native son who was later President of the Bank of the United States. Press of affairs made it necessary for Biddle to engage Paul Allen, a journalist, to see the work through the press.

The personnel of the Lewis and Clark party included twenty-seven men who had been carefully picked with reference to the trying duties and hardships they would have to endure. It was therefore an indication of his worth that Patrick Gass had not only been included but that he was also made a sergeant. On the other hand it is surprising that, with his military experience, he later served through the War of 1812 as a private as stated in his pension papers. His addiction to strong drink was possibly the reason and while this would make a telling point for a temperance advocate to stress he would have to suppress the fact that the subject lived to be ninety-nine.

In a letter written for Gass and signed by him he complains of the action of the pension agent at Richmond in withholding payments. It was addressed to the Secretary of War, the date line being Wellsburgh, March 12, 1829. It reads:

At the commencement of the late war I enlisted with Captain Kingsley at Nashville in the year 1812 in the 1st regiment of infantry—in March 1813 moved to Massack—thence to Bellefontaine on the Missouri, thence assisted in building a small fort on the Mississippi called "Independence". In 1814 descended the Mississippi and ascended the Ohio River to Pittsburgh under the command of Col. Nichols—thence marched to Presqueisle—Fort Erie—Chipewa and was in the battle of Lundy's Lane under Captain Symmes—after the battle returned to Fort Erie—where we were cannonaded by the British for about seven weeks, and

was finally marched to Sackett's Harbor and discharged in June 1815, having obtained from the Surgeon General a certificate of total disability on account of the loss of the sight of my left eye whilst in service.[9]

His discharge at Sackett's Harbor, June 5, 1815, states: "It appears that in September in the year 1813 at Fort Independence on the Mississippi in the Territory of Missouri, he received an injury to his left eye by which he is entirely deprived of the use of it."[10] Apparently then, he continued soldiering with but one eye for the better part of two years; but in the 1851 petition he says he received this wound at Lundy's Lane (July 25, 1814) and the statement is so printed in the Congressional Committee's recommendation for passage, June 23, 1854, 33d Cong., 1st sess., House Report 215. Gass stuck to the Lundy's Lane locale of this story and his biographer Jacob passed it on to later writers. Whether it happened during the prosaic incident of building a small fort or in the more romantic din of battle, might be left to the choice of the reader.

Perhaps the personality of Sergeant Patrick Gass, with or without documentary evidence, is well deserving of more glamor and glory than it has hitherto received.

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[9] Records of the Veterans' Administration now in The National Archives.
[10] *Ibid.*

Jacob and Cresap

By Marjorie Holmes

In 1826 John Jeremiah Jacob published a book entitled *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Capt. Michael Cresap.*[1]

The purpose of this book was to correct a wide spread error regarding the part taken by Captain Cresap in the Dunmore War. The charge had been made, and was given wide circulation by Thomas Jefferson, and by other writers, that Cresap had murdered the family of the celebrated Indian Chief Logan, and by that act plunged the border into war with the Indians. Mr. Jacob's book undertakes to prove, and it does prove conclusively, that Captain Cresap did not murder Logan's family, and that the Dunmore War was not brought on by anything done by Cresap.[2]

It is not the writer's purpose to describe in detail the whole story of the origin of the Dunmore War of 1774, or to attempt to make any conclusive statement as to the actual occurrences.

Most histories of Trans-Alleghany pioneering ascribe the origin of the Dunmore War of 1774 to an isolated act occurring on the upper Ohio, in the spring of that year. But its roots went far deeper than this. It was the culmination of a long series of mutual grievances and outrages between the frontiersmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania and the savages of the Ohio Valley.[3]

For this reason, and because of the number of conflicting controversial writings on the subject, the main consideration here will be an examination of Jacob's book and a comparison of it with some of these other writings. The actual historical events will be taken up only as they relate to this purpose.

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[1] Published at Cumberland, Maryland. This copy was reprinted at Cincinnati, Ohio, with Notes and Appendix for William Dodge, by Jno. F. Uhlhorn, Steam Job Printer, in 1866. A second reprint was made at Cumberland in 1881.

[2] Hu Maxwell and H. L. Swisher, *History of Hampshire County, West Virginia, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present* (Morgantown, West Virginia, 1897), p. 438.

[3] Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Editors), *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1744,* Wisconsin Historical Society, Publications, (Madison, 1905), p. ix.

In the year 1773, the Indians killed two traders, John Martin and Guy Meeks, and robbed them of about 200 pounds worth of goods. About the first of May, 1774, they killed two men in a canoe on the Ohio River, and robbed the canoe of its contents.[4] The frontiersmen made ready for their part in the inevitable struggle, and the savages were equally determined and aggressive.[5]

In April, 1774, Governor Dunmore called upon Virginia militiamen to protect the frontier settlements. About the same time, he sent his agent, John Connally, to Fort Pitt. Appalled at the conditions which he found there in the relations between the frontiersmen and the Indians, Connally issued a letter[6] in which he advised the frontiersmen to defend themselves.[7] Along the upper Ohio in the vicinity of Fort Fincastle (Wheeling), this letter was accepted as a declaration of hostilities, and residents and sojourners prepared to conduct themselves accordingly. In panic, non-combatants fled across the Monongahela . . . while able-bodied men prepared for war.

The command of volunteers was first offered to George Rogers Clark,[8] a sojourner on his way to Kentucky, but it was finally given to Michael Cresap, a recent immigrant from Maryland, who accepted with reluctance the responsibility.[9]

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[4] Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, (4th Ed., Strasburg, Va., 1925), p. 109; Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, pp. 52-56; Joseph Doddridge in his *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1763-1783* (Wellsburgh, Va., 1824) disagreed with this statement and said that for the "general belief that the Indians were about to make war on the frontier settlements . . . there does not appear to have been the slightest foundation," p. 226.

[5] C. H. Ambler, *West Virginia, The Mountain State* (New York, 1940), p. 104.

[6] Thwaites stated that this letter was part of a preconcerted plan of Dunmore's to arouse the excited borderers, because he [Dunmore] favored an Indian War. Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Edited and annotated by R. G. Thwaites, Cincinnati, 1895), p. 142, n.

[7] Jacob stated that Connally's letter had been lost or mislaid, but that, in substance, it said "that the Indians were very angry, and manifested so much hostility that he was apprehensive they would strike somewhere as soon as the season would permit, and enjoining the inhabitants to prepare and retire into forts etc." Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, p. 64.

[8] "Young George Rogers Clark had placed his following . . . at the disposition of Colonel Cresap, a veteran Indian fighter. Clark's own plan it would seem . . . was to take the offensive by crossing the Ohio and overrunning the Scioto Valley. Then the Indians would fall back to the succor of their villages . . . But Cresap was against this; he was trying for peace." Frederick Palmer, *Clark of the Ohio* (New York, 1930), pp. 68-69.

[9] C. H. Ambler, *West Virginia, The Mountain State* (New York, 1940), p. 104. "Capt. Cresap, who was peaceably at this time employed in building houses and improving lands on the Ohio, received this letter . . . and he thereupon immediately broke up his camp, and ascended the river to Fort Wheeling, the nearest place of safety, from whence, it is believed, he intended speedily to return home, but during his stay at this place, a report was brought into the fort that two Indians were coming down the river. Capt. Cresap, supposing from every circumstance . . . that war was inevitable and in fact already begun, went up the river with his party, and two of his men of the name of Chenoweth and Brothers, killed these two Indians, and beyond controversy this is the only circumstance in the history of this Indian War in which his name can in the remotest degree be identified with any measure tending to produce this war." Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, pp. 65-66.

Doddridge's account diverges from that of Jacob's: "On the 27th of April it was reported in Wheeling that a canoe containing two Indians and some traders, were coming down the river . . . On hearing this the commandant of the station, Captain Cresap, proposed to go up the river and kill the Indians. This project was vehemently opposed by Col. Zane, the proprietor of the place . . . His good counsel was lost. The party went up the river. ["However, Cresap and Zane,

Jacob's *Life of Cresap* was a direct refutation of Doddridge's *Notes,* and the two authors, in relating the causes which led to the Dunmore War, are directly at issue on some of the most important particulars.

George Rogers Clark, in a letter to Dr. Samuel Brown, June 17, 1798, makes the following statement concerning Cresap's appointment as leader:

Many . . . circumstances led us to believe that the Indians were determined on war . . . Who was to command? was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare . . . We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation . . . We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed. [When he came, he said] that appearances were very suspicious but there was no certainty of a war . . . But if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people, and share our fortunes . . . [He advised] that we should return to Wheeling . . . On our arrival at Wheeling . . the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed . . . Dr. Conolly . . . learning of us, sent a message addressed to the party, letting us know that a war was to be apprehended . . . The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river . . . They were chased fifteen miles . . . and driven ashore. A battle ensued; a few were wounded on both sides;[10] one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted, to march the next day, and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio, about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles, and then halted to take some refreshment. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as they were hunting . . . In short every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped, and took the road to Redstone.

It was two days after this that Logan's family were killed. And from

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also, 'tis said strongly opposed any such offensive action," Charles A. Wingerter, *A History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1912), I, 77.] On being asked, at their return, what had become of the Indians they coolly answered that 'They had fallen overboard into the river!' Their canoe, on being examined, was found bloody, and pierced with bullets. This was the first blood which was shed in this war, and terrible was the vengeance which followed." Doddridge, *Notes,* p. 226.

[10] This account implies that no Indians were killed. Mr. Jacob stated that one Indian was killed and one of Cresap's party wounded. Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 67. Doddridge stated that several Indians were killed. Doddridge, *Notes,* p. 226. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare,* p. 148, said that one or two Indians were killed, while a letter from Valentine Crawford to George Washington, dated Jacob's Creek, May 7, 1774, stated that Cresap "raised a party, took canoes, and followed some Indians down to the Little Kanawha, when coming up with them he killed three and wounded several." *Washington-Crawford Letters, 1767-1781* (Edited by Consul Willshire Butterfield, Cincinnati, 1877), p. 86. Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 67, said this incident did not take place until May 8 or 10, and that it was on the banks of the Ohio, while Doddridge, *Notes,* p. 226, said it happened on April 27, and was at the mouth of the Captina.

the manner in which it was done, it was received as a horrid murder. From Logan's hearing of Cresap being at the head of this party on the river, it is no wonder that he supposed he had a hand in the destruction of his family.[11]

Clark does not mention the Pipe Creek affair, which Doddridge says took place on the same day as the skirmish [Captina] described by Clark. The Pipe Creek incident is generally conceded to be true, although authorities differ on both the dates and the circumstances.[12]

William Crawford, writing to George Washington, May 8, 1774, says, "The surveyors went down the Kanawha, as report goes, were stopped by the Shawnee Indians, upon which some of the white people attacked some Indians and killed several, took 30 horse-loads of skins near the mouth of the Scioto; on which and expecting an Indian War, Mr. Cresap and some other people at the mouth of Pipe Creek, killed three and scalped them."[13]

Jacob says that *two* Indians in a canoe were killed by two of Cresap's men, but that the event did not take place until after both the Captina and Yellow Creek massacres.[14]

On the other hand, Colonel Ebenezer Zane, Commander of the fort at Wheeling, wrote the following account:[15]

On our arrival at Wheeling, being informed that there were two Indians with some traders near and above Wheeling, a proposition was made by the then Captain Michael Cresap, to waylay and kill the Indians upon the river. This measure I opposed with much violence, alleging

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[11] "General Clark's Account," appended to 1866 ed. of Jacob's *Life of Cresap*, pp. 154-158. "Letter of General George Rogers Clark to Dr. Samuel Brown," Appendix No. 2, p. 149, in Brantz Mayer's historical essay, *Tah-Gah-Jute* or *Logan and Cresap*, (Albany, 1876). "Logan, the Indian," Leonard Bliss, Jr., (an article composed of a reprint of letter of George Rogers Clark). *The Hesperion, A Monthly Miscellany of General Literature, Original and Select*, Vol. II, No. IV, pp. 309-311. See also Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton, His Life and Period*, 1755-1836 (New York, 1930). "It was . . . proposed to march against Chief Logan's Camp at Yellow Creek and destroy it, but Logan was so well known as a friend of the whites that after a little discussion Cresap and Clark became ashamed of the project and abandoned it. On April 30, Logan's entire family was shamelessly massacred at Baker's Bottom by Daniel Greathouse and a large party of borderers. Kenton always stated most emphatically that Cresap, whose projected march against Logan's camp gave him for years the blame for the massacre, was not responsible for it. 'I knew Cresap well,' he told Judge James. 'That family was killed by Baker and Greathouse,'" Kenton, *Simon Kenton*, p. 45. Logan believed that Cresap was the murderer and it was years before the truth was publicly known." Palmer, *Clark of the Ohio, p. 69.*

[12] See No. 9 for description (Jacob and Doddridge) of this incident.

[13] *Washington-Crawford Letters, 1767-1781*, (Letter No. 24), p. 48.

[14] Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, pp. 54, 86-87.

[15] This account coincides, in most respects, with Doddridge's statements. See. n. 9. It is undoubtedly Zane's account with which Doddridge substantiated his statement that the events of Pipe Creek and Captina occurred on the same day. Jacob does not mention Colonel Zane, except to state that Cresap enjoyed Zane's hospitality during the few days he was in Wheeling. Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, p. 108.

that the killing of those Indians might involve the country in a war. But the opposite party prevailed, and proceeded up the Ohio with Captain Cresap at their head. In a short time the party returned, and also the traders in a canoe, but there were no Indians in the company. I inquired what had become of the Indians, and was informed by the traders and Cresap's party that they had fallen overboard. I examined the canoe and saw much fresh blood and some bullet-holes in the canoe. This finally convinced me that the party had killed the two Indians, and thrown them into the river.

On the afternoon of the day this action happened a report prevailed that there was a camp or party of Indians on the Ohio below and near Wheeling. In consequence of this information Captain Cresap, with his party, joined by a number of recruits, proceeded immediately down the Ohio for the purpose, as was then generally understood of destroying the Indians above mentioned. On the succeeding day Captain Cresap and his party returned to Wheeling, and it was generally reported by the party that they had killed a number of Indians. Of the truth of this report I had no doubt, as one of Cresap's party had a fresh scalp, and a quantity of property which they called Indian plunder. At the time of the last mentioned transaction, it was generally reported that the party of Indians down the Ohio were Logan and his family, but I have reason to believe that this report was unfounded.[16]

Within a few days after the transaction above mentioned, a party of Indians were killed at Yellow Creek. But I must do the memory of Captain Cresap the justice to say that I do not believe that he was present at the killing of the Indians at Yellow Creek. But there is not the least doubt in my mind that the massacre at Yellow Creek was brought on by the two transactions first stated.

All the transactions which I have related happened in the latter end of April, 1774, and there can scarcely be a doubt that they were the cause of the war which immediately followed, commonly called Dunmore's War.[17]

Jacob contradicted Zane's statement that the Pipe Creek incident was a cause of the Dunmore War by the remark that "this affair of killing these two Indians has the same aspect and relation to Dunmore's War that the battle of Lexington had to our War of the Revolution."[18] He also said, "I have already admitted that two Indians were killed in canoe, not by Capt. Cresap personally, but two of his men, and we also admit that some of the English Redcoats

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[16] This account was written twenty-six years after the events occurred, and the accuracy of the facts may be questioned.

[17] An extract from a letter from Colonel Ebenezer Zane to Hon. John Brown, dated Wheeling, February 4, 1800. *A History of the Upper* Ohio Valley, compiled by various authors (Madison, Wisconsin, 1891), Vol. I, Chapter II, pp. 35-36.

[18] Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 66.

were killed at Lexington by some wicked Yankees in April, 1775."[19]

Doddridge, however, states that "this was the first blood which was shed in this war, and terrible was the vengeance which followed," and that these incidents "were unquestionably the sole cause of the War of 1774."[20]

These statements serve as illustrations of the many conflicting statements concerning the affair. These differences may be found not only in the Jacob and Doddridge writings, but in both earlier and later descriptions of the incidents. A comparison, such as the one given by Kercheval, will enable the reader to see how, point by point, Jacob and Doddridge disagree.[21]

The fact that several of Logan's family were killed at Yellow Creek has not been disputed, although authorities disagree as to when and how the massacre took place.[22] It has also been definitely proved that Cresap was not present at the Yellow Creek massacre.[23]

There are a number of detailed accounts of this massacre.[24] It will not be recounted here because the main consideration is with the results, rather than with the actual details of its occurrence. Since Logan had heard of the intention of Cresap's party to strike at his camp, he naturally supposed that the murderers were led by Cresap. From

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[20] Doddridge, *Notes*, p. 226.

[21] Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia*, pp. 111-113. Kercheval has stated that "In this controversy the author of this work will not partake so far as to express an opinion which of these two devines have truth on their side; but he considers it is his duty, as an impartial and faithful historian, to give both these reverend gentlemen's accounts, at full length, of the original cause and consequence of this war." *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[22] Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, pp. 148-149, n.; Mayer, *Logan and Cresap*, pp. 97-98, n.; *Washington-Crawford Letters*, (Letter No. 24), p. 48; *Ibid.*, (Letter dated May 7, 1774, Valentine Crawford to Washington), p. 86; Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, p. 133.

[23] Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, pp. 109-113; Mayer, *Logan and Cresap*, pp. 104-106; "In Jacob's *Life of Cresap*, p. 108, [1866 ed., p. 134], Jacob Tomlinson (whose character is strongly authenticated in the *Olden Time*, II, 475 & c), states that the attacking party at Baker's Bottom, 'had no commander . . . This I know well, that neither Captain Michael Cresap, nor any other person of that name was there, nor do I believe, within many miles of the place.' The statement in the *Olden Time* is to the same effect in exculpation of Cresap." Mayer, *Logan and Cresap*, pp. 105-106, n. Cresap persuaded the men to turn back from Yellow Creek and go back to Wheeling "so that Cresap was fully thirty miles away when the slaughter was going on." *A History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, Chapter III (written by R. H. Taneyhill), p. 43.

[24] Jacob's *Life of Cresap*; Doddridge's, *Notes*; Thwaites and Kellogg, *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*; Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, Mayer's *Logan and Cresap*; *A History of the Upper Ohio Valley*; Wills DeHass, *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia* (Wheeling, 1851), and Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, *The Border Settlers of Northwestern Virginia, 1768-1795* (Hamilton, Ohio, 1915).

a friend of the whites Logan became their relentless enemy, and during the war which followed his forays were the bloodiest on the border.[25]

On the twenty-first of July, 1774, Logan wrote the following note:[26]

Captain Cresap: What did you kill my people on Yellow Creek for? The white people killed my kin at Conestoga a great while ago, and I thought nothing of that, but you killed my kin again on Yellow Creek and took my cousin prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too, and I have been three times since the [?] [to] war, but the Indians are not mad, only myself.

Captain John Logan.

Logan and his band once more set out from their village, and massacred a family by the name of Roberts, on the Holston, sparing none. Here the above note was left tied to a war club. It was found by the whites a few days afterward, and this memorable writing went into history.[27]

From this letter we learn that Logan was carrying on a war of his own. Having glutted his vengeance by four prolonged raids, during the summer and autumn of 1774, Logan returned to Yellow Creek after peace negotiations during the Dunmore War had begun.

The date of his arrival . . . is proof that he was not in the battle of Point Pleasant. Noticing his absence, Lord Dunmore sent his interpreter, John Gibson, to bring him to the conference. Logan refused to go and upon that occasion delivered the now famous speech, so generally quoted as an example of Indian eloquence, to which Jefferson paid high tribute in his *Notes on Virginia*.[28]

In 1781 Jefferson amused himself during a spell of sickness by compiling his *Notes on Virginia*. In 1784 he published a private edition in Paris, and some years later a public edition.[29]

The *Notes* contained the famous speech of Logan, and all Europe was moved with sympathy for the heroic savage, and hatred toward the alleged murderer of his family. This charge blackened Cresap's memory. Logan was the "poor Indian" victim of the white man; Cresap was the bloody desperado who had mercilessly slaughtered "all his tribe."[30]

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25 Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, p. 149, n.

26 Logan dictated this note to William Robinson, a white captive whom he had had adopted into one of the Indian families and had made his secretary. *A History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, p. 44. Also Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, pp. 156-158.

27 *A History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, pp. 45-46.

28 Thwaites and Kellogg, *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, p. 315.

29 See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Second American Edition, Philadelphia, 1774).

30 John Esten Cooke, "Logan and Cresap," *The New Eleetic Magazine* (February 1870), p. 170.

Although this article gives an exaggerated account there did grow up an animated controversy over Logan's speech, and its attribution of the murder of Cresap. "It is now admitted that the substance of the speech, as it has come down to us, was actually delivered by Logan, but that he was mistaken in attributing the murder to Cresap."[31]

Several items concerning Logan's speech are worthy of mention. One is the statement of John Gibson, the messenger who went to Logan, heard the speech, took it down, and gave it to Lord Dunmore. Brantz Mayer suggested that Gibson probably only reported the substance of Logan's speech.[32] Theodore Roosevelt quoted a statement made by Gibson that he had not changed it in anyway or added to it, but had translated it literally.[33] Roosevelt added that the fabrication of the speech would have been an absolutely motiveless and foolish transaction.[34]

Another point over which authorities bicker is the reference in Logan's speech to Colonel Cresap. Jacob said: "Mr. Jefferson calls his Colonel Michael Cresap—which mistake, trifling as it may appear, yet goes to prove the imperfect acquaintance he had with the man and the character he handles so freely. It is true there was a colonel of this name, but every body knows he was not the man intended."[35]

Roosevelt said: "Logan called Cresap a colonel when he was really a captain. This inability of an Indian to discriminate accurately between these two titles of frontier militia officers is actually solomnly brought forward as telling against the speech."[36] Taneyhill suggests that "the speech charges the colonel, but that is only a printer's mistake."[37]

Professor Charles Ambler states that Jacob's *Life of Cresap* revived questions regarding the authenticity of the speech attributed to Logan because Jacob implied that it

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31 Thwaites and Kellogg, *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, p. 305.
32 Mayer, *Logan and Cresap*, p. 124.
33 Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, p. 349.
34 *Ibid.*, p. 350.
35 Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, p. 7.
36 Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, p. 350.
37 *A History of the Upper Ohio Valley*, Chapter III (written by R. H. Taneyhill), p. 45.

had its origin in the fertile brain of Thomas Jefferson.[38] This statement brings forth an angle which must not be neglected in a criticism of the books written upon the subject. This is the view expressed by Theodore Roosevelt that most of the writers confused two entirely distinct things, viz., the justice of the charge against Cresap, and the authenticity of Logan's speech. Roosevelt suggests that "Jefferson, thanks to a letter he received from [George Rogers] Clark, must have known that Cresap had been accused wrongly"; Roosevelt also added that Jefferson "was irritated by the controversy, and characteristically refrained in any of his publications from doing justice to the slandered man's memory."[39]

Be this as it may, Jacob clearly defined his purpose in writing the *Life of Cresap* in his preface. He said that soon after he became acquainted with Jefferson's *Notes,* he conceived the idea of refuting the "unfounded and unjust charges therein against my deceased friend, Captain Michael Cresap, knowing most assuredly from personal acquaintance with the accused that those charges were not true."[40] Jacob realized, however, that to call in question the truth of a statement made by so prominent a man as Jefferson would be unavailing.

Therefore, when he received an assurance from Luther Martin, Esq., Attorney-General of Maryland, who was Cresap's son-in-law, that he, Martin, would undertake a defense of Cresap's character, Jacob was very much relieved. He felt that Martin was much better qualified, both in talents and position, to undertake the task. Therefore, he gave Martin the material for the work, as it was in his possession.[41]

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[38] C. H. Ambler, *West Virginia, The Mountain State*, p. 266.

[39] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York, 1895). I, 348. "I think Jefferson should have done sooner [?] justice to Michael Cresap, by acknowledging that his name was wrongly brought into the story—Jefferson's purpose would have been answered as well. He did not tell the incident in his 'Notes' to implicate Cresap, but to illustrate the Indian character, and that he could have done as well by introducing another name." Letter of Charles Deane to Brantz Mayer, January 7, 1868, Duke University Library MSS. Frederick Palmer, *Clark of the Ohio*, used *The Winning of the West* as source material for this section of Clark's life. See n. 45.

[40] Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, p. 7.

[41] This material consisted of all Cresap's papers, books, and memoranda which had fallen into Jacob's hands at the time of his marriage [1781] to Cresap's widow.

Martin soon after published in pamphlet form the defense of Captain Cresap's character, but it did not have the desired effect.[42] Mr. Jacob gave three reasons for this:

> First, because it was not, or could not, in its nature be co-extensive with the *Notes on Virginia;* secondly, pamphlets after the first reading are thrown aside—lost and forgotten, and . . . thirdly—that at the period when Mr. Martin's piece issued from the press—politics ran high . . . and it was but too evident that any blemish on the moral fame of such a man was easily transferable to his political standing, hence it was better upon the whole, some men might think, that Cresap, however innocent, should yet remain under censure than that any suspicion as to the perfection of so great a character should rest on the public mind.

Let us remember that until thirteen years after the publication of Jefferson's *Notes* and until twenty-three years after the speech had been published for the first time no one thought of questioning it. Roosevelt states that Martin attacked its authenticity mainly because he was a Federalist and a bitter opponent of Jefferson, and that although he succeeded in showing clearly that Cresap was wrongly accused by Logan, he utterly failed to impugn the authenticity of the latter's speech.[44]

Jacob said that since the time of the writing of Jefferson's *Notes* and Martin's refutation, people had been using the name of Cresap when they knew nothing about his character or what he had done.[45]

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[42] A copy of this pamphlet cannot be found. Jacob, in 1826, said "at this day scarcely a vestige [of it] remains nor do I know where I should apply successfully for a copy." Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 9.

[43] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[44] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West,* I, 348.

[45] " . . . regardless of truth, honor and justice a great many orators, poets and scribblers have been dashing away at the name, and fame, and character of a man of whom it is presumable they know just about as much as of Kaule Khan or prester John, and who was as much their superior as the noble lion is to the muskrat. All these little folks, I knew, would soon sink into the dusky shades of oblivion, and therefore regarded them as squibs of smoke that the wind would carry away." Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 8. "As a pacifist he [Cresap] was to be the subject of grim historical satire in one of the wickedest libels in frontier history. To so-called 'Indian lovers' of the eastern communities, whose living generations had never known intimate relations with scalping parties, Cresap became the arch type of frontiersmen's barbarity of which Logan, chief of the Mingos, arch type of the 'noble red man,' was the victim." Palmer, *Clark of the Ohio,* p. 69. "Careless writers and historians . . . have continued to regard the Indian's talk, as remembered and related by Gibson, as a genuine speech solemnly delivered in council, and reiterate its cruel assertions as to the innocent Cresap. Poetry, even, has dwelt sweetly upon the theme. Logan seems to have been the original whence Campbell derived his conception of Outalissa (Graham's *History of the United States,* IV, 431. Stone's *Life of Brant,* II, 525. *Gertrude of Wyoming,* part 3rd, stanza XVII) and he has paraphrased in rhyme, the passionate outburst . . . It has become incorporated with English literature." Mayer, *Logan and Cresap,* pp. 141-143. " . . . it [Logan's speech] ran through the public papers of these states; was rehearsed as an exercise at schools, [and] published in the papers and periodical works of Europe."—Appendix to Jefferson's *Notes,* p. 265.

. . . a book has lately fallen into my hands,[46] written by the Rev. Dr. Doddridge of Wellsburg, a man for whom I had hitherto entertained highest respect—yea, warmest friendship—in which book, for what cause to me utterly highly problematical, the old sore is initiated and laid open again. Not only the old Logan speech is raised from the dead, but a new and hitherto unheard of charge is leveled against the character and fame of Captain Cresap.[47] It therefore now becomes my indispensable and imperative duty, however late, as the only remaining person on earth qualified from personal knowledge to do that justice to the memory of this mistaken and abused character that I think no other individual can do, and which, in fact, has been too long delayed.[48]

Jacob stated that Martin's pamphlet aimed at nothing more than a refutation of the charges brought against Cresap on the *Notes on Virginia,* i. e., the Logan speech, and Jefferson's statement that Captain Cresap "was infamous for his many Indian murders."[49] Jacob gave as his purpose:

In order the more effectually to put to silence forever all his calumniators and adversaries, to bring into public view all the life of the late Captain Michael Cresap deemed necessary not only to refute the charges against him, but to evince and demonstrate to the world that they have been imposed upon, and greatly deceived in the man.[50]

This Jacob proceeded to attempt, in that his book contains not only a full life of Captain Cresap, including a genealogical chapter on the Cresap family; but also a chapter on the customs, manners and physical strength of the American nation at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and an appendix containing testimonies which substantiate some of the statements concerning the Indian massacres.

"It is not . . . my business . . . to inquire after the beams in the eyes of the Philosopher of Monticello and the pious Dr. Doddridge, but to remove, if I can, the mote from the eye of Captain Cresap."[51] Jacob devoted Chapter V of the *Life of Cresap* to a refutation of Jefferson's statements, and Chapter VI to a criticism of Doddridge's *Notes.* It is

[46] The first edition of Doddridge's *Notes* was 1824. Jacob's *Cresap* was published in 1826.
[47] Doddridge devoted only one short chapter (pp. 225-237) of his 316 page book to the Dunmore War. This fact would lead us to believe that Doddridge's *Notes* was not the sole reason for Jacob's decision to write a life of Cresap.
[48] Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* pp. 8-9.
[49] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* p. 91.
[50] Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 9.
[51] Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 92.

these two chapters, therefore, which contain the major portion of his arguments.

In the first place, Jacob referred to the testimony of Benjamin Tomlinson [Appendix to Life of Cresap, pp. 133-137] to prove his statement that Logan did not make the speech at all, but that it was written by Gibson.[52] "As I stood," says Tomlinson, "near Dunmore's person, I heard this speech read three times—once by Gibson and twice by Dunmore; but neither was the name of Cresap nor any other name mentioned in this speech. I then saw Dunmore put the speech among the treaty papers."[53] Jacob solved the difficulty by suggesting that Dunmore or Connally, with a view of placing the blame of the war on Cresap, and diverting the public attention from themselves, copied this Gibson-Logan speech and inserted the name of Cresap; and that this copy, by some means came to the hands of Jefferson.

Jacob's second charge against Jefferson was that the *Notes* call Cresap a man "infamous for his Indian murders." Jacob did not attempt a negative proof, but totally denied the charge, unless it should be put into some specific form.

Jacob did not try to find a motive for Doddridge's statements, except that they would perhaps swell the pages of the *Notes,* or that the name of a man so well known as Cresap would embellish the narrative. Jacob attributes the incorrectness of Doddridge's statements to a want of competency to judge and report facts of which he had no knowledge. He said, "Dr. Doddridge himself acknowledges in his preface how imperfect his acquaintance is with this part of his history."[54]

Of the eight specific points of Doddridge's with which Jacob takes issue a few will serve to illustrate his refutation. First, Doddridge stated that Colonel Zane expostu-

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[52] Gibson declared that he received the speech from Logan. Appendix to Jefferson's *Notes,* p. 265. "John Gibson has always been regarded as an honest and truthful person." Address of Brantz Mayer, delivered before the Maryland Historical Society, May 7, 1851, p. 48. Both statements as cited in Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 94, n.

[53] Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 95. George Rogers Clark said Cresap's name was used in the speech. *Ibid.,* p. 158.

[54] Jacob, *Life of Cresap,* p. 100.

lated with Captain Cresap before he [Cresap] attacked the Indians in the canoe, but that Cresap would not regard him.[55] Jacob denied this assertion, and called upon Doddridge to prove it.[56] Second, Jacob said that Doddridge charged that Captain Cresap was the cause of Dunmore's War. Doddridge did not say this directly. He did say that "the massacre at Captina and that . . . at Baker's . . . were unquestionably the sole causes of the war."[57] At any rate, Jacob denied this statement saying that no man ever heard of this charge from 1774 to 1824,[58] hence it was "just hatched in a person's cap in Wellsburg."[59] Third, Doddridge said that the authenticity of Logan's speech was no longer a matter of doubt.[60] Jacob refuted this by pointing out the discrepancy between the fact that in the speech Cresap was supposed to have murdered Logan's family, while in another place Doddridge stated that Greathouse committed the massacre. This point is well taken, except that Jacob overlooked the fact that Doddridge did not directly accuse Cresap of the murder; he merely quoted the speech.

Thus it may be seen that, on a whole, Jacob's arguments are somewhat weak.[61] The *Life of Cresap* evidently was written in a comparatively short time,[62] and Jacob made little mention of it in his diary. The following excerpts are the comments he made concerning it:

February 18, 1826 having finished my book—The Life of Capt. C, submitted it to criticism.

March 18, 1826 employ's a printer to print my book advanced $20.00.

December 11, 1826 was detained in Town all day examining and mak-

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55 Doddridge, *Notes*, p. 226.

56 Colonel Zane, in a letter to Hon. John Brown, February 4, 1800, "This measure I opposed with much violence, . . . but the opposite party prevailed, and proceeded up the Ohio with Captain Cresap at their head." This letter is cited fully on page 215. If Doddridge had seen it, he had proof.

57 Doddridge, *Notes*, p. 227.

58 Jacob, *Life of Cresap*, p. 105, n. "I am not absolutely certain that Mr. Jefferson does not hint at something like this. I have not his book before me, and it is many years since I read it."

59 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

60 Doddridge, *Notes*, p. 134.

61 Furthermore Jacob makes this statement, *Life of Cresap*, pp. 52-53, "I am now old, and as all the facts and circumstances I . . . record, are also old—obsolete . . . and I believe nearly obliterated from the memory of my co-equals in age—neither is my memory very tenacious; it is therefore possible I may be mistaken in the detail of some trivial circumstances, and I now promise, that if a reader should discover any such mistake of sufficient importance to merit correction, I will then freely do it—provided he is right and I am wrong."

62 Doddridge's book was published in 1824, and Jacob's book was finished February 18, 1826.

ing the long list of Errata in the Life of Cap. Cresap. I am very much ashamed of the work it is badly done.

February, 1827—Made arrangements to send my book to Hagars Town to be bound.

June 20, 1827—Confined at home corecting my book "The Life of Cresap." If every author was plagued with as bad and slow printers as I have been, I am opinion books would be scarce.

August 5, 1827 respecting Masonry I have something to say. After I had written the life of Cresap—I put my manuscript into the hands of a friend—to examine critically—and make such emendations as he saw Necessary. He made a few unimportant alterations—returned the book—and said to me—that after this Doct. D. [Doddridge] would not be able to hold up his head, and Spake with approbation of the work—but before the book was printed this friend of mine became a Mason, and an enthusiast, and as Doct. D. was of the fraternity—he appeared quite hostile to my book—and I shall not wonder if he now does all he can to injure the sale and prevent its circulation.

George Rogers Clark's statement concerning the Logan-Cresap affair sums up the matter in what appears to be, in the main, an accurate and unbiased view:

I have a perfect recollection of every transaction relating to Logan's story. The conduct of Cresap I am perfectly acquainted with. He was not the author of that murder, but a family by the name of Greathouse, —though some transactions that happened under the command of Capt. Cresap a few days previous to the murder of Logan's family, gave him sufficient ground to suppose that it was Cresap that had done the injury . . . Logan's speech to Dunmore . . . came forward, as related by Mr. Jefferson. It was thought to be clever; though the army knew it to be wrong as to Cresap. But it only produced a laugh in camp; I saw it displeased Capt. Cresap, and told him, "that he must be a very great man, that the Indians palmed every thing that happened on his shoulders." He smiled, and said "that he had an inclination to tomahawk Greathouse for the murder."

What I have here related is fact. I was intimate with Cresap. Logan I was better acquainted with, at that time, than with any other Indian in the Western Country. I was perfectly acquainted with the conduct of both parties. Logan was the Author of the speech, as altered by Mr. Jefferson; and Cresap's conduct was as I have here related it.[63]

Roosevelt, with much truth, states that Jacob's *Cresap* "is quite an interesting production, but exceedingly weak in its arguments."[64] Jacob evidently made a sincere attempt to dissect and analyze the various charges made

[63] "Logan the Indian," *The Hesperion Magazine*, Vol. II, No. IV, pp. 309-311; Jacob, *Life of Cresap* (1866 ed.), p. 154-158; Mayer, *Logan and Cresap*, pp. 149-155.
[64] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, p. 348.

against Cresap by Jefferson and Doddridge, and in the book he has given examples of his competency and qualification to attempt a work of this kind.[65] In addition he made apologies for the delay in the printing of the book, during which length of time both Jefferson and Doddridge died, and assured his readers that he meant no disrespect to men incapable of making any reply.[66]

[65] The fact that he lived in Cresap's family for many years, married Cresap's widow, thereby gaining access to all Cresap's correspondence, papers, and notes; and in view of this intimacy was qualified to write the biography.

[66] Advertisements in the front and on p. 153 of Jacob's *Life of Cresap*.

Andrew Jackson and the Callava Affair

By Elizabeth Cometti

No episode in the colorful career of Andrew Jackson taxes his admiring biographers more than the one dealing with his governorship of the newly acquired province of Florida. "To receive the province from Spain," wrote Dr. Bassett, "to wave adieu gracefully to the former masters, and to inaugurate American rule with the least friction possible was a delicate task. It required more tact and consideration for others than Jackson possessed."[1] Even Parton, patient soul that he was, breathed a veritable sign of relief when he had "done with Florida." The affair, he explained, had cost him more labor than any other subject heretofore treated.[2] In the present instance, the sole excuse for recalling this episode, which on the whole has been ably and impartially treated by Jackson's biographers,[3] is the recent discovery of a letter written by Jackson while he was Governor of Florida.

On July 15, 1821, Andrew Jackson arrived at Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, in a very bad humor.[4] Physically, he was far from well; mentally, he was irritated by the countless delays and the effusive bickerings of the Spanish Governor, Senor Jose Callava. Jackson's good humor was not restored by the cession of Florida two days later. In the first place, the new governor was bitterly disappointed when he discovered that the administration at

[1] John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1925), p. 294.
[2] James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (3 vols., New York, 1861), II, 642.
[3] Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain* (Indianapolis, 1933); William G. Sumner, *Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1896). Concerning the Callava affair Sumner wrote (p. 71): "It is plain that he had acted from a good motive against Callava, and being sure of his motive, he had disregarded diplomatic obligations, evidence, law, propriety, and forms of procedure."
[4] Much of Jackson's correspondence for this period is found in *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. by John Spencer Bassett (Washington, 1928), III, *passim*.

Washington had disposed of the lucrative jobs which he had intended for his own friends.[5] Elijas Fromentin, the administration's choice for the judgeship, was particularly obnoxious.[6] Moreover, Callava continued to linger in Pensacola as commissioner of the King of Spain, much to the annoyance of Jackson.

No incident of importance occurred, however, until the evening of August 22, more than a month after Jackson had assumed office.[7] By the treaty of cession, all the archives and documents relating directly to the property and sovereignty of the province were to be turned over to the new government.[8] On August 21, one Mercedes Vidal appeared before the newly appointed *Alcalde* of Pensacola, H. M. Brackenridge, and charged that there were certain papers in the possession of Sousa, clerk of Callava, which would establish her claim to the estate of her father, a former merchant of New Orleans. Brackenridge reported the matter to Jackson and the latter immediately ordered the clerk to relinquish the papers. On Sousa's refusal, Jackson had him arrested, but not before the cautious Spaniard had removed the boxes containing the Vidal papers to the house of Callava.

The affair came to a head on the following evening, when Jackson determined to obtain the papers, come what may, come what might. There are two versions of what occurred on this memorable night, and each one is substantiated by a series of affidavits whose similarity calls to mind the old method of compurgation. According to the American version,[9] Colonel Robert Butler, Dr. J. C. Bronaugh, and *Alcalde* Brackenridge went to the house of Callava, about four o'clock in the afternoon, only to learn

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[5] Parton, *op. cit.*, pp. 609-611. Rachel Jackson wrote: "Many wonder about like lost sheep; all have been disappointed in offices. Crage has a constable's place of no value. The President made all the appointments, and sent them from the city of Washington."

[6] Former Jesuit priest, expelled from France during the French Revolution. He married into a prominent Maryland family whose influence was sufficient to get him the appointment as Federal Judge.

[7] The documents pertaining to the occurrences of August 22 and related matters are found in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous* (Washington, 1834), II, 799-913 and *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV, 740-808.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 623.

[9] The most complete statement in this version is the one prepared by H. M. Brackenridge, *American State Papers, Miscellaneous,* II, 328-331. The following outline of Jackson's version is taken from Brackenridge's affidavit.

that the Spaniard was dining with Colonel Brooke, commander of the Fourth Infantry. The trio returned in a half hour, and on finding that Callava had not yet come home, they proceeded to Colonel Brooke's.

This interruption angered Callava, who "began with warmth to assert his rights as commissioner of Spain, and to talk of the laws of nations." Callava and the Spanish officers with him returned to the former's house, whither the trio once more returned. Colonel Butler then proceeded to make known his mission through the medium of Brackenridge, who was well conversant with the Spanish language.[10] After all persuasive efforts to obtain the papers proved futile, Callava was ordered to appear before Governor Jackson. At this juncture, the outraged Spaniard agreed to deliver the papers provided a list of the documents were furnished him. Within a quarter of an hour, Brackenridge presented the desired memorandum, but Callava acting as one "who expected everything he possessed would be forcibly carried away," evaded the issue by demanding that the paper be addressed to him as commissioner and time allowed for its translation.

It is not difficult to imagine Jackson's reaction to this report of his emissaries. Immediately, twenty soldiers under Lieutenant Mountz were detailed to accompany the original trio to the house of Callava. Here the group had some trouble in gaining admission, but at length Butler, Bronaugh, and Brackenridge, together with "two or three soldiers," confronted Callava in his upstairs bed-room, while the guard waited below. No amount of entreaty could move the ex-governor to deliver the papers, and accordingly the guard was called to take him in custody.

The subsequent scene between Callava and Jackson was bound to be explosive, in spite of the fact that Brackenridge occasionally softened the language in the course of translation. Jackson steadfastly refused to recognize Callava as other than a private citizen, and Callava continued to de-

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[10] Brackenridge had studied Spanish law in New Orleans and had served as secretary of a commission sent to South America. *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 543-544.

cline the delivery of the papers unless demanded of him "as commissioner, or late Governor."[11] Both men were adamant, and in their eagerness to justify their positions, they often appealed to the bystanders who, by this time, must have found the proceedings increasingly confused and somewhat absurd. By midnight Jackson's patience had reached its limit, and when Callava once more refused to deliver the papers except on his own terms, Jackson committed him to prison.

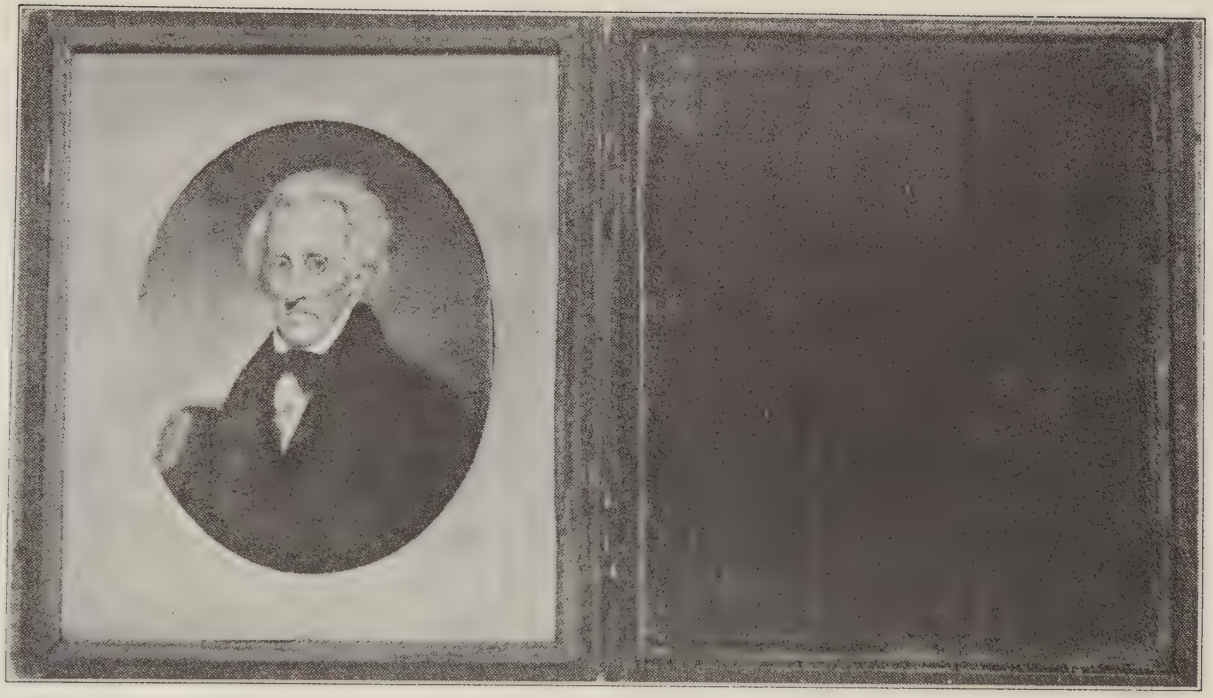
The Spanish version represents Callava as the victim of the grossest injustice and Jackson as an unreasonable bully who did not know the rudiment of international etiquette. Typical of the Spanish version is Callava's description of what occurred when he asked for an abstract of the desired papers:

> An hour afterwards, one of the three presented himself in my house, and gave me an abstract, written on a half sheet of paper, in the English language, and signed *Alcalde Brackenridge.* I took it; I told him that I should have it translated, and should reply to it; he went away; I gave it to the interpreter at that hour, which was nine at night, and sought repose on the bed; but, a while after, and without further preliminaries, a party of troops, with the commissioners, assaulted the house, breaking the fence, (notwithstanding the door was open,) and the commissioners entered my apartment; they surrounded my bed with soldiers with drawn bayonets in their hands, they removed the mosquito net, they made me sit up, and demanded *the papers,*[12] *or they should use the arms against my person.*

Which version was correct? Naturally Secretary of State Adams accepted the one offered by Jackson, while the Spanish charge d'affaires, Hilario De Rivas Y. Salmon, strongly condemned the conduct of the American governor. Although Parton, justly perhaps, characterized the affair as much ado about nothing, it was sufficiently important to provoke explanatory correspondence from the

[11] Regarding the merits of this angle of the quarrel, Bassett wrote: "The treaty provided that the cession should be complete within six months after ratification, or by August 22d, and if any authority inhered in him [Callava] by reason of his former governorship it might be considered to have ceased at the end of this period. But he was also commissioner to make the transfer. International comity would allow him reasonable time to complete his business as commissioner, and his continuation in the place was with Jackson's consent. He was a Spanish officer for a particular purpose and had personally the status of an accredited agent. As such he was exempt from arrest and trial by the ordinary courts of the country, and his property, domicile, and the public papers in his charge were inviolate as long as he kept within the limits of his official duty." Bassett, *Jackson,* pp. 300-301.

[12] Protest of Callava. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV, 768-771.



This century-old miniature of Andrew Jackson was done on ivory, in 1840, by James Tooly, Jr. Tooly was the great-great uncle of Charles Lively, Charleston, present-day owner of the painting.

State Department, and some discussion in Congress.[13] The latter was probably motivated by political animosity, nevertheless the fact that there was criticism is pertinent.

The discrepancies in the two versions vary in importance. Those relating to the lapse of time between scenes count for little in establishing the truth. More interesting and to the point is the contradiction in the manner of entering Callava's house. The Spanish affidavits relate that Jackson's troops "because they found the principal door shut, scaled the house, breaking the fence . . ." The other version merely declares that an entrance was effected by "removing the bar by which the gate was fastened." Moreover, two of the American deponents explicitly affirm that they "did not see any of the enclosures torn down." The unanimity of opinion in respect to the distortion of the translation diminishes in importance when each side employs this fact to bolster its respective contentions. Brackenridge, the chief translator, admitted at the time that he deliberately modified Jackson's language. Later, when Jackson became the target of his outraged feelings, the erstwhile secretary and *Alcalde wrote*: ". . . I most sincerely wished him away from Pensacola, being continually apprehensive that he would do some violent and unfortunate act, that would require no little stretch of argument and some stretch of conscience, to defend."[14]

An interesting bit of hitherto unexamined evidence in regard to this affair is the following letter written by Jackson to Lieutenant J. J. Jackson,[15] adjutant of the Fourth

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[13] For debates concerning the quarrel with Judge Fromentin resulting from the Callava affair, see *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 17th Congress 1st Session (Washington, 1855), *passim*.

[14] *Judge Brackenridge's Letters to the Public* (1832), p. 8.

[15] "General" John Jay Jackson was born in Wood County, now West Virginia, on February 13, 1800, and spent most of his early years in Parkersburg. He entered West Point March 8, 1815, and was graduated from there July 24, 1818. Jackson was transferred from garrison duty to the Fourth Infantry in December 1819 and served in this regiment until his resignation, which became effective January, 1823. Back in Wood County, Jackson began to study law; very soon he was admitted to practice. His long and eminent career as lawyer, member of the Virginia House of Delegates, and business man belongs to the history o West Virginia. His son, Jacob Beeson Jackson, became the sixth governor of West Virginia. George W. Atkinson, Alvaro F. Gibbons, *Prominent Men of West Virginia* (Wheeling, 1890), pp. 246-252. Judge John J. Jackson (*Ibid.*, pp. 165-169), the eldest son of "Lieutenant Jackson," sent this letter to Governor William MacCorkle on December 17, 1896. MacCorkle turned it over to the West Virginia Antiquarium and Historical Society whose papers were acquired by the State when the Department of Archives and History was created in 1905.

Regiment, who gave the parade order to the twenty men who went to Callava's house and eventually conducted the Spaniard before Jackson. The Lieutenant, therefore, had an opportunity to witness some of the confused and controverted events of the evening of August 22.

Executive Office
Sept. 22nd, 1821

Sir

I have read your note, and regret it is unpleasant to you to give testimony of the parts as the[y] existed on the evening of the 22nd August last, but when you reflect that the[y] Spanish officers have given ex parte certificates or affidavits, and that it is encumbent on me to rebutt these false statements by those gentlemen who were present—and as I am taking the testimony of all that were there, to testify not only the correctness of the conduct pursued there but to testify the conduct of your brother officers who were ordered to execute my order, you cannot therefore hesitate on the point of delicacy and particularity, as you are referred to in the statement of Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Scott, therefore (to connect this with others) your testimony is absolutely necessary and also corroborate the testimony of Lt. Mountz that will be taken, and the statement made by Col. Butler, Doctor Bronaugh—and is the truth and what you saw, & heard, is all that you are expected to depose to. I can assure you sir if my own feelings was alone to be consulted, you would be excused, as I assure you I mean to make no publication at present and as you are indesposed I have sent Judge Brackenridge to take yr. deposition, as I think it indespensable on this occasion—I am respectfully yrs.

Andrew Jackson.

It is significant that there is no record of Lieutenant Jackson's affidavit. As the letter states, certificates were prepared by Mitchell, Scott, Lieutenant Mountz, Colonel Butler, Dr. Bronaugh, and Judge Brackenridge, and these were later forwarded by Jackson to the State Department. In the face of Jackson's half command, half importunity, Lieutenant Jackson also must have made some kind of a statement. Then why was it not forwarded with the others? The obvious answer is that the testimony offered did not help Jackson's case and was, therefore, omitted. Certainly Andrew Jackson's role in the affair was anything but creditable, and such expressions as "to the best of my knowledge" and "as we understood" found in the affidavits sent to Washington weaken their vindicatory character. On the other hand, Callava, either as commis-

sioner or private citizen, would have tried the patience of Job, and Andrew Jackson was the antithesis of that forbearing patriarch.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

FERGUSON, JOHN (Lieutenant)

Born, Prince George County, Maryland. Died, Monongalia County, 1796. Enlisted in 1775 as a second lieutenant in Prince George militia and served until 1776. Moved to Morgantown in 1788 and there had a tavern until his death. He married while still living in Prince George County, and the name of his widow, Barshaba or Bathsheba Ferguson, appears on the Monongalia tithable lists for many years after her husband's death in 1796. Her name was also sometimes shown as "Ardow." Their children were: Catherine, married Joseph Wilson, August 29, 1777, Prince George County, Maryland, and later removed to Monongalia; Rebecca, married William Wilson, October 1, 1777, Prince George County, Maryland, and later moved to Morgantown. Will probated in Monongalia County. Susannah, married Fauquier McCrae, April 21, 1781, Prince George County, Maryland, who moved to Morgantown and there operated a tavern; Lydia, married Zephaniah Beall, lived in Monongalia County; John; Margaret.

FERGUSON, SAMUEL (Captain)

Samuel Ferguson was a captain in the Revolutionary Army and served under General Green. He was one of the earliest settlers of Wayne County, and was the ancestor of many prominent citizens of that county.

FERRYMAN, STEPHEN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 4740 No. S. 39515

Enlisted, Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia. Served four years in company of Captain Mayo, Continental Establishment, under Major-General John Smith, and General Green. Was in battles of Blueford's Defeat and Ninety-Six. Received pension, December 12, 1818, while a resident of Hampshire County, Virginia. His wife, Priscilla, was aged 70 in 1820, a daughter, Rebecca, was 17, and a son, Henry, was 10. Supporting data was filed by General John Smith.

FISHER, JACOB

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16698 No. S. 15120

Born, October 29, 1758, Berks County, Pennsylvania. While living in Hampshire County, Virginia, in March, 1778, enlisted under Captain Moses

Hutton and Captain Dan Richardson in a Virginia regiment under General Hand. In 1781, he volunteered for service against the Indians. Received pension, September 16, 1833, while living in Hardy County. Supporting data filed in his case by William Heath, Isaac Hutton, Jacob Yoakum, Jacob Randall, and Isaac Vanmetre.

FISHER, JACOB

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16652 and 21973 No. R. 3565

Enlisted, Rockingham and Hardy Counties, Virginia, at the age of 16 or 17, in the fall of 1778 and served until 1781, as a substitute for his father. Served three months under Captain Rice in regiment commanded by Colonel Noll and Major Guy Hamilton. Reenlisted under Lieutenant Cornelius King and served on the South Branch and in the vicinity of Clarksburg. Reenlisted under Captain James Stevison or Stinson and marched to Winchester to guard the British prisoners brought from Yorktown. He received a pension, September 11, 1833, while living in Nicholas County. In 1840, he was living with William Cutlip on Holly River, Braxton County. He died, October 15, 1846, and his widow, Catharine, died November 16, 1850. Additional information concerning the soldier was filed by James McMillion, Addison McLaughlin, William Radcliffe, and George Fisher, a brother.

FISHER, PETER

Born, Middletown, Pennsylvania, November 3, 1763. Enlisted at Shepherdstown, then Berkeley County, Virginia, 1781, and served under Captains McIntire and Bedinger and Colonel Darke. Took part in the siege and capture of Yorktown. Supporting data filed by Alex Jones, David Snively, John Quidley, George Bedinger, and Adam Fisher, a brother, of Point Pleasant. Applied for pension, May 18, 1835, Jefferson County, but claim was rejected owing to length of service. See File No. R. 14157. Died in 1844 and was buried with military honors.

FLAGG, JOSIAH

Served in the Revolution as third sergeant in Captain H. Stephenson's Company.

FLEEHARTY, STEPHEN

Service—Maryland Va. No. 13411 No. S. 39529

Enlisted in Maryland in 1775 and served as a private eight years, in the company of Captain Stricker, First Maryland Regiment, under Colonel Smallwood. Fought at Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, Monmouth, Camden, Guilford Courthouse, Eutaw Springs, Cowpens and the Siege of Ninety-Six. The soldier received pension in Harrison County, July 7, 1819, at which time he was 73 years old.

FLEMING, BOAZ

In Woodlawn Cemetery, Fairmont, Marion County, is buried Boaz Fleming, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, an early settler and an active leader in the early life of the Monongahela Valley.

FLEMING, JAMES (Lieutenant)
Service—Maryland Va. No. 6809 No. R. 3605

Enlisted, Frederick, Maryland, 1776, and served nine months as a lieutenant under Captain Michael Troutman, Maryland Line, under Colonels Thornton, Johnson and Baker in the Thirty-fourth Battalion of Provincial Troops. Was wounded in the leg at Piscataway.

In Harrison County, February 13, 1820, was married to Polly Whitehair. Received pension, May 6, 1833, and died May 14 of the same year. Widow applied for pension, September 30, 1853. Supporting data filed by Hamilton Gass and Thornberry Bailey.

FLESHER, ADAM
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23022 No. S. 18403 and B.L.Wt. 47388

Born, July 29, 1764; died, November 4, 1854. Went out in 1781, and again in 1782 on scout duty at Buckhannon Fort, Richard's Fort and at other points on the West Fork in Lewis County, and continued to serve in later years as a ranger or Indian spy against the northwestern Indians. Pension granted in 1833, but it was later dropped on the grounds that most of his service was against the Indians and not in regularly established military units in the Revolution. Bounty land warrant for 160 acres was later issued.

Adam Flesher and Elizabeth Staats were married February 22, 1792, in Harrison County, by Joseph Cheuvront, a Methodist minister.

FLESHMAN, MOSES
Service—Virginia Va. No. 7008 No. S. 8484

Enlisted, Culpeper County, Virginia, March, 1781, and served six months as private under Captain Mark Fink in detachment of the Virginia militia commanded by Colonel Harry Hill, Was engaged in campaigns in Virginia and North Carolina. Pension granted in Fayette County, February 21, 1833, at which time the soldier was 72 years old.

FLOYD, HENRY F.

Enlisted, Berkeley County, Virginia, 1776 and served until 1782 under Captain Holmes, in regiment commanded by Colonels Spottswood and Febiger. Took part in the actions at Brandywine, Germantown, Princeton, Monmouth, Hackinsack, Stony Point, Powles (Paulus?) Hook. Taken prisoner at Blueford's Defeat. Escaped from the British and returned to his home.

Received pension for six years in Monongalia County, March 24, 1820. Died, December 16, 1829. Wife, Elizabeth, aged 36, in 1820. Children and ages in 1820 were Catherine, 14; John, 10; Thomas, 8; Elizabeth, 6; Mary Ann 4; Malinda, 2. Supporting data filed by Benjamin Satterfield and Michael Floyd.

FLUHARTY, STEPHEN

Before the Harrison County court Stephen Fluharty stated that he enlisted in the year 1775 in the State of Maryland in the company commanded by Captain George Stricker of the First Maryland Regiment, commanded by Colonel Smallwood. He continued in service until the end

of the war, being discharged at Annapolis in 1782. He was in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, Monmouth, Camden, Guilford Courthouse, Eutaw Springs, Cowpens and at the Siege of Ninety-six.

FOLCK (FOLK), DANIEL

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 23561 No. S. 15636

Enlisted, Bethlehem, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1775, and served eighteen months under Captain Craig, Lieutenants Parks and Church, in the regiment commanded by Keethline and Taylor, Continental Line. Took part in the expedition against Canada. Received pension certificate in Jefferson County, February 25, 1834. Died in 1838.

FOLEY, ENOCH

In the Wood County court is filed the certificate of John Marshall, Major of Artillery, that Enoch Foley in Colonel Marshall's Regiment of artillery has been discharged after three years of faithful service. There is also filed statement signed by Enoch Foley, October 20, 1785, directing Isaac Van Meter to forward the land warrant that is due him as a soldier of artillery in the Virginia Line.

FORD, DABNEY

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7498 No. S. 39531

Enlisted, Harrison County, 1778, for three years in the company commanded by Captain Thomas Porter in Colonel Taylor's Regiment of the Virginia Continental troops. He continued in service until discharged at Winchester, Virginia, in 1781, after taking part in the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army. Pension was granted to him in Harrison County, March 11, 1819.

FORD, GEORGE

Born, Charles County, Maryland, son of William Ford, October 10, 1782. Enlisted as a private in the Fifth Maryland Regiment, May 13, 1778, and served until August 15, 1778. Probably had additional service also. Buried, near Grafton, on Lanty Ford's farm. Wife was Charity Colvert. or Calvert· She is buried in Fauquier County, Virginia. Soldier was related to William Ford, who was also a Revolutionary soldier, and the Warder, Woodyard, and Payne families of Taylor County and other sections of northern West Virginia.

FORD, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 5832 No. S. 8506

Enlisted, Fauquier County, Virginia, in the fall of 1779; served six months in Captain William Jenning's Company; in 1780, one year in Captains Ellis Edmunds' and William Frost's Company, Colonel Frank Triplett and Colonel Elias Edmunds' Regiments; 1781, six months in Captain William Balis' company, Colonel Elias Edmunds' Regiment. Was at battle of Jamestown where he was wounded in the hip, and was at the surrender of Cornwallis. Discharged, December 23, 1781.

Pension issued in Monongalia County, 1833, dropped in 1835, and reinstated in 1839. Supporting data filed by Charles Shaw, George Ford,

James Woodyard, Elisha Ford, Henry Ford, Mary Woodyard, Natious Ford, James Warder, John Warder. Died, July 4, 1839. Names of children are as follows: Elisha married Nellie Warder, 1811; Elizabeth married Andrew Miller; Mary, married Lewis Woodyard, 1810; Lucy, married John Ford, 1810; Nancy, married James Williams; Sally, married Isaac Trader, 1829; Catherine, married Josiah Wilson, 1830; Anna, married Solomon Hustead; William; Cynthia.

FORD, JOHN (Sergeant)
Service—Maryland Va. No. 19239 No. S. 39532

Enlisted, Montgomery County, Maryland, August 3, 1776, and served three years as sergeant under Captains Bell and Calderwood in Rawlings' Regiment and the Fourth Maryland Regiment, Continental Establishment, under Colonels Rawlings, Febecker, Brodhead, and Major Williams. Fought at Brandywine, Monmouth, Germantown, and Iron Hill. Received pension, April 19, 1824, while living in Monroe County, Virginia.

FOREMAN, WILLIAM (Captain)

In 1777, Foreman brought a company of Hampshire County militia to the Ohio Valley to take part in the projected expedition of General Hand against the Indians. He was caught in an Indian ambush in the Narrows between Fort Henry and the fort at Grave Creek, and was killed with his son and the greater part of his command.

FOSTER, JAMES
Service—Pennsylvania No. S. 39536

Born, Ireland, 1757, and enlisted in Pennsylvania under Captain James Campbell in Pennsylvania militia commanded by Colonel Allison. Pension was issued to him in Berkeley County, April 1, 1833. Supporting data filed by Captain James Campbell, Captain John McClelland, Colonel Allison, and Sam Culbertson, all of whom seem to have been at Cumberland, Maryland, when he entered service.

FOSTER, JAMES
Service—Virginia Va. No. 7182 No. S. 8503

Enlisted, Bedford County, Virginia, 1776, and served three years under Captain Lambert, in the Fourteenth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel William Davis. Was at Germantown, Brandywine, Monmouth, and Stony Point. Received pension, aged 72, while living in Monroe County, March 5, 1819. His wife was aged 52 in 1820, and a son was aged 13.

FOSTER, JOHN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 12097 No. S. 8504

Enlisted in Virginia, 1780, and served as private under Captain Lamb in the Tenth Regiment, Virginia Continental Line, under Colonels Gaskins, Posey, Baron Von Steuben, and General Wayne. Took part in the siege and capture of Yorktown, was in several skirmishes near Savannah, and received his discharge near Charleston, South Carolina, in 1783.

Applied for pension, Monroe County, 1829, and received the certificate, March 22, 1833. Also was issued land bounty warrant for 100 acres.

FOSTER, PEREGRINE

Peregrine Foster was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts, 1759. As a soldier in the Revolution, he was present at the execution of Major Andre, the British spy. In 1782, he started practice of law in Providence, Rhode Island, but moved west in 1786 and settled in Monongalia County.

FOSTER, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 19651 No. S. 39534

Enlisted in Virginia in 1777, and served as a private three years under Captains Grant and Kirk, Third Virginia Regiment, Continental Establishment, commanded by Colonel Guess and General Woodford. Took part in battles at Stony Point and Charleston, South Carolina. Was wounded and taken prisoner. Remained prisoner twenty-two months, was then exchanged, and honorably discharged. Received pension, aged 65, August 3, 1826, while living in Nicholas County.

FOWLER, JOSEPH (Shown as Joseph F.,)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 6215 No. S. 39530 and B.L.Wt. 1370

Served six years and six months in Continental Establishment, from January, 1777, to July 26, 1783, when he received his discharge from Major Congham at Pittsburgh. Served under Captain David Steel, Captain Benjamin Biggs, Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, Colonel Gibson, and Colonel William Crawford. Received bounty land warrant for 100 acres, and also pension while living in Brooke County. Supporting data filed by William Baxter. Soldier died, January 24, 1840.

FOX, ANTHONY

Before the Harrison County court, Anthony Fox made affidavit that he had enlisted in Fauquier County, Virginia, under Captain Fleebecker. He was commanded by Colonel Lewis and Colonel Smith of the regular army until Fleebecker was promoted to the command of the regiment. He was engaged in the battle of Brandywine and in the capture of Cornwallis at Little York. After the fall of Yorktown, Fox was taken from the line and employed in driving a team under Wagonmaster Holliback until the end of the war. He was discharged by Colonel Fleebecker on James River near Richmond.

FOX, JAMES

Enlisted in Captain Shepherd's rifle company in 1776. Was captured in November and died on board a prison ship, April 1, 1777. The Fox family were in Berkeley County before the Revolution.

FOX, HENRY

Service—Virginia Pa. Va. No. 18389 No. S. 41540

Enlisted, 1777, at Muddy Creek, Pennsylvania, for three years under Ensign John Mills and Captain Benjamin Biggs, in Thirteenth Virginia, commanded by Colonel John Gibson. Saw service at Fort Lawrence against the Shawnee Indians on Tuscarora River. Captured by Indians at end of two years, and held prisoner seven years until treaty signed by General Clark and General Butler at the mouth of the Miami River.

Pension application, September 25, 1821, at Washington County, Pennsylvania, later Virginia. Certificate issued December 5, 1821. Had wife and five children.

Much evidence is submitted by H. A. Muhlenberg, Member of Congress, in the case of Fox and comrades. More evidence for Fox is found in the papers of Michael Spatz. Jacob Graul served in the same company and at the same time as Spatz. Papers certified by Commodore Gillon. John Fox, Jacob Fleisher, and Michael Spatz served on board the Frigate South Carolina as marines, under Gillon. Muhlenberg says they were alive June 7, 1832, and had been placed on pension rolls in 1818. Adam Gramline (Grambling), served one year in a regiment of artillery commanded by Colonel Benjamin Flower of the Pennsylvania Line. He was also placed on the pension roll in 1818 and was still living June 7, 1832.

FRANK, HENRY

Service—New York Va. No. 11249 No. S. 10700

Enlisted, November 1, 1778, in New York. Served three years as a dragoon in company of Captain Barth Van Heer, Light Dragoons, General Washington's Lifeguards. Discharge papers signed by Captain Van Heer, October 20, 1781, at Camp York. Wounded in Battle of Stony Point, and was also at siege of Yorktown. Pension application, January 12 and April 3, 1818, Jefferson County, Virginia. Certificate issued June 2, 1819. Supporting claims by Conrad Kreemer.

FRANK, VALENTINE

Served in the Revolution as a dragoon in Washington's Lifeguards. Died in Jefferson County in 1831.

FRITZ, VALENTINE

Enlisted in Captain Shepherd's rifle company in June, 1776. Enrolled in another rifle company, January 1, 1777.

FRYER, JAMES

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12595 No. S. 6866

Enlistment, September, 1777, September, 1780, Point Pleasant, Greenbrier County, Virginia. Private two years under Captain McKee and Captain Andrew Wallace, Virginia Line, Colonel Blueford, General Gates, and General Green. Spent two years under Captain McKee at Point Pleasant. In 1780, enlisted for 18 months in Virginia Line of the Regular Continental Establishment. In Captain Andrew Wallace's company, marched to Staunton, then to Hillsboro, North Carolina, where was attached to Colonel Blueford's detachment. Joined General Gates at Charlotte. After arrival of General Green, who took command of the army, marched to the Cheraw Hills, thence to Virginia. After the battle at Guilford Courthouse, transferred to Captain Oldham and stationed at the iron works. At Rock River was attached to Colonel Campbell's command. At Camden, General Green was wounded. At Hughes Mill John Fryer lost all of his mates except one. Was at Siege of Ninety-Six, and also at Eutaw Springs where he lost his officers, Captain Oldham and Colonel Campbell. Was honorably discharged at Salisbury by Lieutenant Hurt.

Pension application, May 26, 1829, Greenbrier County, Virginia. Cer-

tificate issued, May 13, 1833. Died, July 30, 1839, leaving as heirs two grandchildren. Supporting claims offered by John Williams, Elias Perkins Charles Hyde, and Richard Williams.

FRIEND, JOSEPH (Captain)

Joseph Friend was a captain in the Revolution, and his memory is commemorated in Randolph County, West Virginia, by a tablet placed in 1926 by the John Hart Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. Friends' Fort was built by Joseph and Jonas Friend in 1772. Jonas was a sergeant in the French and Indian War, 1754-60 in Pendleton County, and was constable of that county, 1767. The will of Israel Friend, dated August 12, 1749, is filed in Frederick County, Virginia. In it he bequeathed land on Leading Creek to his sons, James, Jacob, and Charles.

FULK, DAVID

Service—Virginia Va. No. 15166 No. S. 39554

Enlisted, Shepherdstown, Berkeley County, Virginia, 1775-76; 1778-79, and served two years as private under Captain Drake and Captain Crogan, Eighth Virginia Regiment, Colonel Muhlenberg. Fought at Trenton, Germantown, Long Island, and White Plains. Pension application, October 16, 1818, Pendleton County, Virginia, aged 70 years. Pension granted, September 30, 1819. Had three children, two daughters and a son, living in Kentucky and Pennsylvania. Claim supported by Adam Bible.

FURBEE, CALEB (Lieutenant)

Service—Delaware Va. No. 23421 No. W. 740

Born, Kent County, Delaware, November 22, 1752. Died, April 15, 1837. Enlisted, 1775-1777, as private under Captain Sipple. Was commissioned by Governor Radnor of Delaware as lieutenant in 1776 in Captain Sipple's Company. Fort Clow, built by the Tory, Chaney Clow, on Chester River was captured by Furbee in 1777. He was also at Brandywine. Mentions many prominent officers.

Married, December, 1833, Green County, Pennsylvania, by Justice of Peace James Dye to Mary Lemasters. Soldier applied for pension, August 28, 1832, from Monongalia County, Virginia, and pension was granted, January 7, 1834. It was later suspended but resumed, 1838. Widow applied for pension, April 11, 1835, for Tyler County, Virginia. Her petition was granted and bounty land warrants were also issued. Among those supporting their claims were the Rev. Shackelford, Richard Harrison, Charles Simpkins, Ann Davis (sister of Furbee), John Davis (brother-in-law of Furbee), Dallas Lemasters (brother of Mary Lemasters Furbee), and Alex Tennant. Furbee settled in Monongalia County, 1796.

GASKINS, JESSE

Service—Virginia Va. No. 5221 No. S. 39660

Enlistments, 1776, 1780, 1781. Served three years under Captains Hull and Butler, Fifteenth Virginia Regiment, Colonels Gaskins, Ball and General Simpler. Fought at Germantown, Stony Point and the Siege of Charleston, South Carolina. He was taken prisoner at Germantown, lodged in jail

at Philadelphia, and then carried to New York on a prison ship. Exchanged after a month. Had written instrument from General Sumpter, a free pass home, and authorization to draw provisions on the way.

Applied for pension, May 26, 1818, Monongalia County, Virginia, aged 78. Wife, formerly Susanna Gaskins, aged 75 or 78 years. Pension certificate issued, January 7, 1819. Mentions children, Chloe, 22 years; three grandchildren, and a son 18 years old.

GASS, PATRICK

NOTE: On account of special interest, included with the list of Revolutionary services, although military service was entirely in later wars.

War of 1812 and others No. 527-7460 Bounty Land Warrants 6320, etc.

Enlisted, 1799, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in Regular Army and joined the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel Thomas L. Moore. Discharged. Re-enlisted under Major Cass, was stationed at Harper's Ferry, then sent to Pittsburgh where Cass resigned. Then removed to Kaskaskia, Illinois. Accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition to the Pacific, and his "Journal of the Expedition" is one of the most interesting accounts of the expedition. In 1812, he enlisted in the Regular Army under General Bissell and served until 1815. Saw service on the Missouri, and elsewhere. Was in fighting at Fort Erie, Chippewa and in battle of Lundy's Lane. Lost his left eye in service and was discharged for total disability, June, 1815. Married in 1831. Wife died 1847, leaving family of six children. Applied for pension, December 23, 1851. Received three warrants for bounty lands.

GATES, HORATIO (Major-General)

Born at Malden, Essex County, England, 1728; entered the army while a youth; came to America; commanded the King's Independent Company in New York; stationed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, with the rank of major; joined Braddock's ill-fated expedition in 1755 and was shot through the body at disastrous defeat at the Battle of the Monongahela; recovered and served to the close of the French and Indian War; then settled on an estate called "Traveler's Rest" in Berkeley County.

Entered the American service at the beginning of the Revolution; brigadier-general and adjutant-general, Continental Army, June 17, 1775; major-general, Continental Army, May 16, 1776; defeated the British army under Burgoyne at Saratoga, New York, October 17, 1777; made President of the Board of War, November, 1777; served to the close of the war. Then lived on his estate in Berkeley County, until he removed to New York where he died, April 10, 1806.

Bounty Land Warrant 863-1100 was issued November 18, 1790, to Gates as a major-general for Revolutionary services. His brilliant victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga is in contrast to his defeat at Camden, North Carolina. He was twice retired but Congress later acquitted him of blame and reinstated him about the time the Revolution ended.

GEORGE, JOSEPH

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23564 and No. 2986 No. W. 7515

Enlisted, Hampshire County, Virginia, 1781, and served six months

under Captain James Cunningham of Virginia troops. Other officers, Lieutenant Bullet and Ensign Bogart. Applied for pension, December 25, 1833, Hardy County, Virginia. Certificate issued February 28, 1834. Born, Richmond County, Virginia, 1757. Died June 23, 1837.

Married Margaret Arnold, December 28, 1784. She applied for pension, August 9, 1836. Widow's certificate granted, May 29, 1839. Supporting claims filed by John Crowse and Daniel Arnold. Other officers were Ensign Dan Ashby, Captain Stevenson, Colonel Darke, Major Reed.

GEORGE, REUBEN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 7602 No. S. 39567

Enlisted, Culpeper County, Virginia, fall of 1777, to November, 1783. Served three years, Captain J. Billison and Captain Ward, Continental Establishment, Tenth Virginia Regiment, Colonel Stevens, and was at Germantown, Brandywine, and White Marsh. Pension application, December 4, 1818, Pendleton County, Virginia. Certificate issued, March 13, 1818. Wife's name Ailcy (Elsie?). Supporting claims filed by Daniel and Benjamin Calvin, John Saunder, David Johnson, and Gabriel Tutt.

GIBBS, LUMAN
Service—Vermont Va. No. 16661 No. S. 13169

Born, South Farms, Litchfield County, Connecticut, 1765. Enlisted in Vermont, 1781, and served eight months in Vermont Line under Colonel Fletcher. Applied for pension, November 6, 1832, Mason County, Virginia. Certificate issued, September 11, 1832, and paid until September 4, 1841. Since Revolution resided in New York and Kentucky as well as in Mason County. Supporting claims made by Isaac Robinson and James McDermot.

GIBSON, NICHOLAS
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23324 No. S. 8559

Served two years as private in the Virginia Line under Captain Skinner. Original application papers sent to Special Agent Shingleton, August 9, 1834. Pension was granted, October 31, 1833, but it was later suspended.

GILLINGWATER, JAMES
Service—Virginia Va. No. 10613 No. S. 39570 B. L. Wt. 6410

Served as private under Captain Newell, Second Virginia Infantry, Colonel Haws and General Green. Enlisted in Amherst County, Virginia, in 1780. He had eighteen months service and was wounded in the heel and ankle at Guilford Courthouse, Hillsboro, North Carolina. Applied for pension, Cabell County, Virginia, November 3, 1818, aged 65, and pension was granted, May 15, 1819. Also received Bounty Land Warrant for 160 acres. Supporting claims filed by James Peters, James Evans, Elisha Gillingwater, a brother, and Armstead B. Howell.

GILMORE, DAVID

Enlisted in August, 1776, in Captain Shepherd's company. Was taken prisoner at Fort Washington and died, January 26, 1777.

Book Reviews

YELLOW WOLF—HIS OWN STORY. By Lucullus Virgil McWhorter. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1940. Pp. 324. $3.50.

To all of us who blush with shame as we think of the American Indian, it is gratifying when one of our own race wields his pen on the Indian's behalf.

Yellow Wolf—His Own Story is written by Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, one of our own West Virginia McWhorters, though now living in the great Northwest.

He is a native of Harrison County, and his first book, *The Border Settlers of Northwestern Virginia*, is a tale of our own state. In it, he gives the Red Man a square deal.

He later wrote *The Crime Against the Yakimas* (1913), exposing the corruption of government officials in their attempt to despoil the natives of the Yakima Reservation in the State of Washington.

Mr. McWhorter's latest book is *Yellow Wolf—His Own Story*, told in the first person, as Yellow Wolf, himself (or at times his interpreter), told it to Mr. McWhorter.

He had come to Mr. McWhorter's home, driving a wire-cut horse; and pointing to the ragged wound, he spoke softly: "Sick hoss stay here?" A stranger, yet he trusted to Mr. McWhorter his most prized possession! It was not until ten months later that he came back for his property, which Mr. McWhorter released, according to tribal ethics, free of charge.

The next year, he came again, with his wife and son and other tribesmen, and camped for some days on Mr. McWhorter's place. They were on their way from the annual hop-picking in the Yakima Valley. Every year, for twenty-four years, this was their custom; and each year, he added a little to the life story which Mr. McWhorter had asked him to tell.

Whether in his own broken English or through the interpreter, his story rings true. In that first encampment, he says: "This is the last night I will be with you, and I would like you to understand. I have been here with you a few suns. I am glad we get along so well. It is the way I have been with everybody who treats me right. I like good people! I will never forget you and your family. I will remember while I live. How is your heart? What do you think about it?"

Yellow Wolf is the story of the almost total extermination of the non-treaty or "Dreamer" Nez Perce Indians by United States troops in 1877.

Yellow Wolf was a lad then, strong, agile, alert. When he finished his story to Mr. McWhorter in 1940, he was 80, but still with a keen

memory where these early events were concerned. He died soon after that interview in 1940, and he must have even then sensed the end, for he said: "I have two sons, but have never told them of my war-day fighting. I want them to see this story, all that I have given you. It is a true story, all I have told you. It is a true history, what I have seen and done.

"This is all for me to tell of the war, and of our after-hardships. The story will be for people who come after us. For them to see, to know what was done here. Reasons for the war never before told. NOBODY TO HELP US TELL OUR SIDE—the whites told only one side. Told it to please themselves. Told much that is not true. Only his own best deeds, only the worst deeds of the Indians has the white man told."

Mr. McWhorter is "Boswell" to Yellow Wolf's "Johnson," listening, recording, questioning, verifying by government records and voluminous correspondence with the government. So that both the author and Yellow Wolf, himself, have given us a sincere and honest account of the almost total extirpation of this primitive, independent tribe of the Northwest.

Under Chief Joseph, "a real Napoleon" according to one authority, this little band of two hundred Indians had resisted efforts to drive them off their land onto a reservation. They rose against their oppressors and retreated across three states while fighting off detachment after detachment of United States troops many times their number. They were finally betrayed in their treaty of surrender and exiled.

Yellow Wolf, who fought through the whole campaign, was only a stripling when it began. He naturally tells his story with passion, honesty and skill to his sympathetic listener.

Yellow Wolf's description of "civilized" soldiers fighting the "savage" Indians by massacring their non-combatant women and children brings a blush of shame even in this day of modernized blitzkriegs! When they had been tricked and defeated, they pitched their tents in alien country, and lived out the rest of their lives in solitary bitterness. Yellow Wolf, at 80, a lonely and dying exile, said to Mr. McWhorter: "It is good dying for your rights, for your country."

To the reviewer, the most impressive part of the book is Yellow Wolf's description of Wyakin.

Wyakin is the spiritual experience by which an Indian youth becomes conscious of guidance by a higher Power. We would call it conversion.

"I was a boy of about thirteen snows when my parents sent me away into the hills. It was to find my Wyakin. I saw something—not on the ground, but about four feet up in the air. I took my bow and shot an arrow.

"It was in Moon, you call May, when my parents again sent me out. Gave me one blanket, but no food. I might go fifteen, maybe twenty, suns with nothing to eat, but could drink water a-plenty. Only trees for shelter, and fir brush to sleep on. Nobody around, just myself. No weapons, for nothing would hurt me. No children ever get hurt when out on such business.

"After going so many suns without food, I was sleeping. Just like dreaming what I saw. A form stood in the air, fronting me. It talked to me in plain language: 'My boy, look at me! You do as I am telling you, and you will be as I am. Take a good look at me! I will give you my power, and what I have got. You may think I am nothing! You may think I am only bones! But I am alive! You can see me. I am talking to you! I am Hemene Moxmox (Yellow Wolf).'

"It was a Spirit of a wolf that appeared to me. Yellow-like in color, it sort of floated in the air. Like a human being, it talked to me, and gave me its power. I did not say anything back to the Spirit talking to me. I was in a trance. I was not scared. Nothing was there to hurt me.

"I awoke and started for home. When maybe a quarter mile of home I dropped down, supposed dead. Someone brought me to the tepee. They had seen me, and watched for me. It was good for the one finding me.

"That is how I got named Yellow Wolf. Named for that vision-wolf appearing to me. It was yellow colored, and gave me the power of the wolf.

"My kopluts (war club) I made when a boy, by directions of the Spirit that gave me promise of warrior power." (Mr. McWhorter expressed a desire to own that war club should Yellow Wolf ever care to part with it. The very next year, on his way to the hopfields, he brought not only the war club, but his sacred war whistle, and presented them to Mr. McWhorter.)

The whole story is most moving. It is not a merry tale, but it is full of breath-taking experiences, and is a wholesome story of hair-raising fights—men battling for their rights. This is a boy's book—a man's book, but anyone who loves truth and justice must enjoy it.

The past is irreparable, but it is not yet too late for us to become sympathetically awake to the only "hundred per cent Americans."

Charleston, West Virginia — ANNA WORK SHAWKEY

THE IMPACT OF WAR, OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY UNDER ARMS. By Pendleton Herring. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. Pp. 300. $2.50.

In this penetrating study of the effects of war upon American democracy during the past century and a half, Professor Herring places military affairs in their correct setting by a lucid presentation of their interrelationship with government and economics. By accomplishing this service for thinking Americans he again demonstrates his keenness of analysis and again proves the value of his special studies on group representation before Congress, the political relations of that body and the chief ex-executive, and the politics of democracy.

The author reminds us that when war comes it equips men with the power to reshape their institutions, forcing changes that might otherwise consume decades. He ably defends the proposition that only through the chief executive can our nation secure the concentration of power necessary to marshal the fertility of imagination, the freshness of thought and the dynamic power that fail to enter military careers in peacetime.

Apparently acting on the assumption that it is unnecessary to shield men from unpleasant truths, Dr. Herring writes realistically and candidly. He warns us of the danger involved in our indulgence in prolonged debate about what to do, while our enemies act. Admitting that even in a national emergency the interest groups in our country continue their struggle for dominance, he bluntly states that the survival of democracy is primarily a question of the rapidity with which a free people succeeds in adjusting their economic order to the competition of totalitarian nations. The author cites instances in which political influence was successfully brought to bear upon the Army to maintain posts in locations unsuitable for training purposes and he describes how the mechanization of the Army was retarded partly by the opposition of horse-breeders and farmers with hay to sell.

His criticism of certain aspects of the West Point program, staff and facilities may seem, to some of the Academy's alumni, a trifle too severe, but many of these limitations were also noted in an article by Colonel T. Bentley Mott which appeared in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1934. Herring's warning that the dynamic and imaginative force of Naziism far exceeds anything in the militarism of the Kaiser and his war machine should disturb those complacent souls who believe that it would be utterly impossible for the United States to lose this war.

It is cheering to learn that the Army has progressed from the notion that the cultivation of public relations is undignified to a recognition that as an integral part of the nation its activities are matters of concern to the whole people.

This work is noteworthy for its sense of fairness which expresses itself in the admission that the lack of mutual understanding between the civil and military spheres can be attributed with as much justice to the civilian mind as to the frequently criticized military mind. This quality is also visible in the acknowledgment that Congress, despite its well known shortcomings, pays "attention to the little, the human, and the concrete items which in the aggregate are enormously important for the smooth functioning of our defense program."

The Impact of War is realistic, but it is also sanely optimistic. Herring holds that the use of violence or the development of military might may be compatible with democratic government. That we can adjust this new military strength to our free civil institutions and thus maintain our democracy is his thesis.

The author admits that the record of the blunders committed and the lessons mastered in managing military affairs through democratic institutions is not a "heroic" story. It does disclose a slow but certain progress, and what is more heartening, it reveals that we are continuing to learn.

Morris Harvey College CARROL H. QUENZEL

THE LIFE OF EMMA THURSBY. By Richard McCandless Gipson. New York: The New York Historical Society. 1942. Pp. 470. $7.50.

Emma Thursby, concert singer par excellence, lived a full life which spanned the last half of the nineteenth century and well into the twen-

tieth century, eighty-six years of activity in which the so-called Jenny Lind of America fashioned her own rules for successful living, and by faithfully following these rules became the leading concert singer of two continents. Europe hailed her with delight; America sent her to Europe with pride, knowing that her perfect coloratura, the purity and sweetness of her nightingale voice would, as a Brooklyn poet expressed it, "melt two continents into one." Records show that Emma Thursby, indefatigable worker that she was, gave some twelve hundred concerts between the years 1855 and 1908. Every famous concert hall in both America and Europe had thrilled to the perfection and brilliancy of her voice. It is through the spontaneously revealing letters of her sisters, Ina Love Thursby and Alice Thursby, as well as the letters of Emma Thursby to her family that the author was able to recreate for us this vital figure of the American concert stage.

If there was any one consistent criticism of Emma Thursby's countless performances, it was that her voice lacked warmth. Her public adored her, frankly, intensely; her native Brooklyn found no flaw in her; but the people of her more sophisticated audiences often looked for and did not find the animation needed to make of their idol's voice the perfect instrument for song. Emma Thursby, herself, recognized this lack of fervor, consistently refusing to enter the operatic field, saying, "My ambition is satisfied when I can look in the faces of a sympathetic audience, and, whether singing the classical music of an oratorio or a simple ballad, realize that I have fulfilled the original plan and purpose of my life. The truth is, and I will frankly confess it, I do not feel equal to the task of representing a character, the instincts of which I do not feel. I am not an actress."

In that last sentence Emma Thursby voiced her greatest weakness, and yet, one of her greatest sources of strength. It is the woman—simple, sweet, dignified, refined and altogether lovely that caught and held her audiences. Miss Thursby's life was not a well-rounded one. She had but two loves, her music and her family. She never married, and neither was there at any time in her life any evidence of her love for a member of the opposite sex. She was devoted to her Church, respected all the conventions of the time—was, in fact, a model of womanhood. Although her father died leaving the family in poor circumstances, Emma Thursby never really suffered for any of the creature comforts. Although she had to work hard to attain success, she never faced difficulties severe enough to change the even tenor of her life. Her greatest sorrows came later when she lost her sister Alice, and her beloved mother, both of these dying after Emma had reached the height of her career as a concert singer. Such a one-sided, one-purposed life could very well have been responsible for the lack of fervor so noticeable at times in her singing. Had there been more of the sour and not so much of the sweet in her life, Mr. Gipson might have written another chapter to his story—Emma Thursby, Great Star of the Opera.

Not only is this volume a charming portrayal of the life and career of America's Jenny Lind, but it is, also, an authentic history of the

musical life of a very important period, both in America and on the continent. Although Miss Thursby remained loyal to the concert stage, her life was touched by all phases of the musical world. She knew, loved and was loved by the musical great of her time. These famous people march side by side with Emma Thursby through the pages of Mr. Gipson's book, and when the reader has finished his reading, there comes the realization that the history of musical America for the past century has crystallized; and so convincingly and so sympathetically has Mr. Gipson portrayed the central figure of this crystallization that one exclaims with the critics of a by-gone day: "What a skylark voice Thursby has!"

Beckley, West Virginia MRS. CLAY S. CROUSE

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine (January, 1942), *Queen Oppussoquionuske*, by Charles Edgar Gilliam.

Jefferson County Historical Society Magazine (December, 1941), *Early Architecture in Western Virginia*, by Thomas Tileson Waterman; *Old Homes of the Lutawn Neighborhood*, by Anna W. Schley and Linnie Schley.

Journal of Southern History (February, 1942), *The Colonial Status of the South*, by B. B. Kendrick; *A Private Soldier's Account of Washington's First Battles in the West: A Study in Historical Criticism*, by Hayes Baker-Crothers and Ruth Allison Hudnut; *Plotting After Harper's Ferry: The "William Handy" Letters*, ed. by James C. Molin.

William and Mary College Quarterly (January, 1942), *Jamestown and the Revolution*, by Charles E. Hatch, Jr.; *Spencer Roane and the Richmond Junto*, by Rex Beach; *Francis Asbury, Prophet of the Long Road*, by J. Manning Potts.

West Virginia Review (December, 1941, January-February, 1942), *Fairmont*, by Paul E. Amos; *The Feud of the Sister Cities*, by Mildred Lee Henderson; *Harper's Ferry*, by Florence Jansson.

West Virginia School Journal (March, 1942), *Historical Narratives Stimulate Interest in History*, by Jannes Kirby.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly (January-March, 1942), *Travel to Cincinnati in 1853* (Letter by William Randolph Grimes deposited in the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville), ed. by William D. Hoyt.

NEWSPAPERS:

Braxton Democrat (Sutton), *Braxton's Place in the Sun*, serial, by O. O. Sutton, January 29, February 12, 26, March 12.

Elkins Mail, Excerpts from article in Collier's Magazine, issue of February 7, concerning the Sydenstricker family in West Virginia in *Notes from the Hills*, by Alma Lorentz.

Fairmont Times, *Lawrence Conaway Writes History of "Old Covered Bridge at Barrackville," Erected in 1852*, January 2; *West Virginia, Birth-*

place of Mail Pick-up, by Charles Brooks Smith, January 8; *Col. Charles Stephen Morgan-Family Sketch*, January 16; *Notes on the Noss Family*, January 17, 19, 24, March 12; *Notes Concerning Removal of Remains of Lewis Wetzel from Natchez to Marshall County by Dr. Albert W. Bowser, Descendant*, January 19; *Was It West Virginian Who Drilled First Oil Well on this Continent?* February 26. (Note: unless otherwise credited, articles are by E. E. Meredith.)

HERALD-DISPATCH (Huntington), *General Delos C. Emmons of Huntington Now U. S. Army Air Chief in Hawaii*, January 7; *Major-General Richard K. Sutherland Now Chief of Staff under MacArthur*, January 7.

HURRICANE BREEZE, *Story of Early Hanging in Putnam County, 1876*, by E. E. Dudding, February 6.

MINERAL DAILY NEWS (Keyser), *Potomac State Land Found To Have Colorful and Historic Background*, by Lucile Anthony, January 23.

MONROE WATCHMAN (Union), *Three Writers for National Magazine* [COLLIER'S] *from Greenbrier Valley Families*, February 19.

MOUNDSVILLE ECHO, *National Peace Chime at Valley Forge Has West Virginia Bell*, January 5; *Sand Hill District in Pioneer Days*, by Mrs. C. S. DeBarr, January 16; *Marshall County Historical Society Endorses Move To Incorporate Grave Creek Mound Museum*, February 10; *Lewis Wetzel, Indian Foe, Will Be Removed to Boyhood Home*, March 5.

MOUNDSVILLE JOURNAL, *History of Newspapers Traced by Glendale Writer at Meeting of Study Club*, February 10.

MOOREFIELD EXAMINER, *Thaddeus Dod First Presbyterian Pastor on Patterson Creek—Founded W. and J. College; Preached in Hampshire County*, by J. C. Sanders, January 22.

THE MOUNTAINEER (Ripley), *Early History of Pioneer Days in Jackson County:* "The Coleman Family," January 23; "Henry Clay Fleming," February 27; "The Warth Family," February 13, March 6, 13, serial, by Tommie Sewell.

MORGANTOWN POST, *Meet a Man Who's Been Around—Capt. Harry A. Garrison, Native of Morgantown, Served in Navy 35 Years*, January 7; *Memoirs of J. Ross Tennant*, includes genealogy of family, January 9.

PIEDMONT HERALD, *Piedmont's Early Development Linked with Promotion by New Creek Company*, by Mrs. Leonora W. Wood, WPA project work, January 22.

POCAHONTAS TIMES (Marlinton), *Personal Recollections of Private John Henry Cammack—Soldier of the Confederacy, 1861-1865*, serial, January 22, February 5, 12, 19.

RALEIGH REGISTER (Beckley), *Miss Alethea Todd Alderson* [formerly of Alderson, West Virginia] *Publishes Volume of Poetry*, January 11.

RAVENSWOOD NEWS, *History of Presbyterian Church—First Service Held in 1836*, February 5.

THE REGISTER (Shepherdstown), *History Magazine for 1941 of Jefferson County Historical Society*, January 8; Survey of the Presbyterian Churches in West Virginia (mimeographed), WPA project, January 15.

REPUBLICAN DELTA (Buckhannon), *"Wild Flowers of Upshur County," New Book by Fred Brooks*, January 22.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Alexander Henderson Home at Salama, Oldest in Pleasants County, Built in 1814*, by Susan Minnick, February 1; *Early History of Parkersburg and Purchase of Land for Present Site of City*, by Henry Haymond (excerpts and comments by Cordelia Moellendick), February 8; *West Virginia Author Wins New Laurels*, sketch of life and writings of Lucullus V. McWhorter, by Minnie Kendall Lowther in column *Broader Horizon*, February 8; *"State Journal"—Parkersburg Newspaper of 1869 Contains Many Unusual Items*, by Susan Minnick, March 8.

RITCHIE STANDARD (Harrisville), *Early History of Ritchie County*, prepared for Thomas Ritchie Chapter of Daughters of American Pioneers Program. Delivered at Chapter's meeting, February 11.

SHEPHERDSTOWN INDEPENDENT, *West Virginia Magazine Editor Sees Work To Be Done for Defense*, January 21; *Shepherdstown Has Interesting Charter History*, by C. S. Musser, March 4.

SHINNSTON NEWS, *History of the Harmer Family in Shinnston*, by Harvey W. Harmer, March 12.

ST. MARY'S ORACLE, *History of Pleasants County Now on Sale by Oracle*, January 22.

WEST UNION RECORD, *Story About One of State's Most Interesting Characters—Joseph Diss Debar*, by Nola Stone, January 23.

WEST VIRGINIA NEWS (Ronceverte), *Distinguished Personal and Military Record of Major-General Mason Patrick*, by Major-General O. Westover, February 5.

WHEELING NEWS-REGISTER, *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Federation Organized; James A. Sigafoose Named President*, January 16; *Natural Wonders of West Virginia—The Smoke Hole of Pendleton County*, by A. B. Brooks, January 25; *Bones of Capt. William Van Swearingen, Indian Scout, Found at Wellsburg*, January 16; *Wheeling Once Considered for Capital of U. S.*, March 8; *Zane Mansion* (picture), March 8.

WIRT COUNTY JOURNAL (Elizabeth), *Pioneer History of Wirt County*, serial, by Tommie Sewell, January 9, 23, 30; February 6; March 13.

Recent Accessions to the State Department of Archives and History

Compiled by NANCY WILSON, *Librarian*

HAMMOND, JOHN MARTIN. *Quaint and Historic Forts of North America.* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1915. 308 p.

An account of the most famous fortifications of North America is, in reality, a cross section of the military history of the continent of the strongholds which the Spanish built to maintain their title to this part of the world there remain such substantial relics as the old fort at St. Augustine, and that at Pensacola, Florida. The French are best remembered by their works at Quebec, and the English by Castle William (Fort Independence), Bostor harbor. Of the defensive works of the Dutch, on the Hudson, or the Swedes on the Delaware, nothing remains. This book helps clarify the topographical considerations of the larger movements of American history, and presents the visible monuments of the Past.

MAURY, ANNE FONTAINE, ed. *Intimate Virginiana, A Century of Maury Travels by Land and Sea.* Richmond, Va., Dietz Press, 1941. 342 p.

Spanning that amazing and crowded century from 1790 to 1890 which whirled a giddy world from stage coach and packet boats to the automobile and trans-oceanic airliner, this collection of Maury family letters and diaries reveals the impressions of five generations who lived and travelled through it. This book recounts in colorful detail a collection of intimate Virginiana which includes within its scope most of the prominent families of the early Republican era of American history, and unusual, vivid descriptions of their way of life between 1790 and 1890.

Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White of Maryland . . . Philadelphia 1879. 211 p.

The title of this book is a very poor one. It should be called, "Descendants of John White (d. 1501) of Hul— Bedfordshire, and of Col. Thomas White (d. 1779) of Maryland." Although this book deals primarily with the genealogy of John and Thomas White, there is a wealth of Colonial history included. The ablest article is that of Col. Chester on English ancestry.

COTTERILL, R. S.*The Old South, the Geographic, Economic, Social, Political, and Cultural Expansion.* 2d ed. rev. Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark, c 1939. 354 p.

Until the past ten or fifteen years the history of the South was a vast *terra incognito* concerning which the American people were apparently content to be misinformed or not informed at all. These latter days, however, have witnessed a revival of interest in the history of the South, and this volume presents the first synthesis of Southern history.

SANDERS, JENNINGS B. *Early American History* (1492-1789) . . . New York, Prentice-Hall, 1941. 705 p.

Agreement is growing among historians that a course in United States history cannot properly begin with the year 1689, 1763, or even 1750. To understand what took place in America in 1776 or 1787, one must know the history of colonial development from 1689 to 1763; and to know this last period, one must also understand the gradual growth of principles and institutions in the rich soil of seventeenth century colonial experience. In writing the book, the author has made an effort to omit no topic of first significance in the civilization of seventeenth or eighteenth century America.

GUTTMACHER, MANFRED S. *America's Last King: An Interpretation of the Madness of George III.* New York, Scribner, 1941.

George III, one of the most important and tragic of the World's rulers, comes alive in Guttmacher's new biography of him, as a full-sized, understandable human being. At a time not unlike our own—a stormy era when, to its ruler, the British Empire seemed to be threatened by the beginning of dissolution, when, for a time, England faced invasion, by an enemy army whose transports were at the French Channel ports—there sat upon the English throne a man who took the job of kingship too seriously. George's fine outright attacks of insanity are so full and detailed that it is possible to look into the very mind of the man—to see how in his thoughts the fate of the thirteen colonies that he wanted so much to keep was strangely interrelated with that of the King's thirteen children whose loyalty he so wanted to hold. As well as an illuminating biography, Dr. Guttmacher has produced a story of notable interest.

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HAFEN, LEROY R. *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859.* Glendale, Calif., Clark, 1942. 320 p.

HARDMAN, PAUL STUMP. The Four Goff Brothers. Charleston, Typed copy, 1941. 23 p.

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MARSHALL, DEAN. *A House for Elizabeth.* New York, Dutton, 1941. 219 p.

O'MELIA, JULIA ROUSH. *History of the Roush (Rausch) Family in America.* Parkersburg, W. Va., Banner Printing Co., 1942. 579 p.

STUMP, NETTIE. *Trail of My Pen.* Parkersburg, W. Va., Banner Printing Co., 1941.

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WOOLERY, *W. K. Bethany Years.* Huntington, W. Va., Standard Press, 1941, 290 p.

Contributors

Clement Eaton is a native of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and was educated at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and at Harvard University, from which he received a Ph.D. in 1929. He was a Sheldon Traveling Fellow from Harvard University and was instructor at Harvard. He is now professor of history at Lafayette College.

In 1939 he was awarded the Duke University Press Prize of $1500 for his volume on the cultural history of the Old South entitled *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, which was published the following year by Duke University Press.

Newman F. McGirr, curator and secretary of The Columbia Historical Society, is a native of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Before coming to Washington seven years ago as the first one employed in the Library Staff of The National Archives, Mr. McGirr conducted a rare book and publishing business in Philadelphia and Ardmore. For many years he has contributed articles to Philadelphia newspapers; since living in Washington he has authored a weekly column "Georgetown Footnotes" in a local newspaper. Last spring his *Bio-Bibliography of Peter Force* was published as No. 87 of HEARTMAN'S HISTORICAL SERIES. The forthcoming volume of The Columbia Historical Society's *Records*, which is edited by Mr. McGirr, will include a paper by him entitled "The Activities of Peter Force."

Marjorie Holmes, a native of West Virginia, received her elementary education in the Charleston public schools. She was graduated from Marshall College in 1936 (A.B.), and from Duke University in 1941 (M.A.). For the past several years she has taught at the Woodrow Wilson Junior High School, Charleston.

Elizabeth Cometti, for biographical sketch see Volume I, page 162.

Anna Work Shawkey is the wife of a Charleston physician, Arthur A. Shawkey. She is a graduate of Colorado State College and spent her early years teaching. She was for seven years assistant principal of Lincoln School, Denver.

Most of Mrs. Shawkey's literary work has been done in the Woman's Kanawha Literary Club of which she is now president. This is a society of forty-six years standing, devoted entirely to the study of literature.

She says she has just two hobbies: family and church; but she is well known in Southern West Virginia for her book reviews, and her sense of humor and fund of general experience cause her to be in demand for public addresses and after-dinner speeches. She paints, also, and specializes in coats of arms and family crests.

CARROL H. QUENZEL, for biographical sketch see Volume II, page 263.

MRS. CLAY S. CROUSE, for biographical sketch see Volume II, page 322.

Editor's Page

Many a historian is prone to see and to understand only that little section of the country which, through its traditions and deeds of valor, has appealed to him. He becomes a chronicler of the South, or a chronicler of the West; New England holds him enthralled; or, maybe, he never goes beyond the boundaries of his own beloved state. He identifies himself wholly with his chosen section. This is not a bad idea in itself; that is, as long as he is recording only facts and accepted traditions; but true history has a wider scope in its all embracing philosophy of peoples and their lands.

Less and less can a man live unto himself. Robert Frost, in his poem *Mending Walls,* sounded the keynote of our "American way of life" when he said: *Something there is that does not love a wall.* Time has a way of beating against the invisible barriers until they crumble; has a way of snatching our local heroes out of the niches into which we have so lovingly placed them, and giving them to the world; has a way of weaving our little traditions and dabs of glory into a vast universal pattern.

The people of West Virginia with great vision made their choice in 1863 to stand by the Union; they looked ahead; they tore down the walls of prejudice, tradition and self interest. They became champions of the common good, facing their problems and those of the nation with logic and a sense of reality. Today, West Virginia is not the old covered bridges revered by us all; not the stone markers on her many battlefields; not Rowan and his message to Garcia; not the coal and oil and gas that abound so plentifully; not the great industries that flank her waterways; not the cities snuggled deep in the valleys; not the clean sweep of corn and wheat on her uplands; not blossom

time in her apple orchards. These are not West Virginia, but the creations of West Virginia.

These things, all of them, can be destroyed. Although the people of West Virginia will do their utmost to protect these things held sacred by them; although her historians will do their utmost to preserve her landmarks and traditions, neither her people nor her historians will lose sight of the Vision of 1863. In this critical period of our national life, we, too, will look to the common good, knowing full well that life is a strangely hazardous business, and that man can no longer live it alone.

Pages 263-264 omitted in numbering.